National Anti-Slavery Standard.

VOL. XXII. NO. 5. NEW YORK, SATURDAY, JUNE 15, 1861. WHOLE NO. 1,097.

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

PUBLISHED WEEKLY, ON SATURDAY,

AT TWO DOLLARS PER ANNUM,

BY THE

AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,

At its Office, No. 5 Beekman Street, New York:

AND AT THE OFFICE OF THE

PENNSYLVANIA ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,

107 *N. Fifth St., above Arch, Philadelphia.*

Letters for publication, or relating in any way to the editorial conduct of the paper, should be addressed, "EDITOR OF THE NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD, NEW YORK."

Letters enclosing subscriptions, or relating in any way to the business affairs of the paper, should be addressed, "PUBLISHER OF THE NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD, NEW YORK."

ADVERTISEMENTS, 10 cents per line each insertion.

Selections.

PRESENTATION TO DR. CHEEVER IN EDINBURGH.

From The Edinburgh (Scotland) Review, May 22.

A MEETING was held on Monday evening, for the purpose of presenting to Dr. Cheever the money which had been collected in aid of his efforts to promote the abolition of slavery in America. The meeting was attended by the Committee, and by a considerable number of ladies connected with the two Ladies' Anti-Slavery Societies of this city. Mr. N. D. Dickie, the Treasurer of the Committee, occupied the chair.

The CHAIRMAN addressed Dr. Cheever, and said: Honored sir—As treasurer for the fund raised in Edinburgh to aid in sustaining you as pastor of the Church of the Puritans in New York, in the noble endeavors which you and your Church are now making for the abolition of slavery in the States of America, I have great pleasure in announcing to you that the sum contributed amounts to £527, 18s. 7*d.*, and in now handing over to you the free proceeds, to be secured for the purpose of aiding to sustain you in your efforts, under the express proviso that no parties calling themselves the Church of the Puritans shall have any right to the fund, if in opposition to you, or if they succeed in severing your connection from the Church. Permit me, in the name of the contributors, and of the Committee by whom this sum has been raised, to express our obligation to you, and our warmest thanks for the opportunity your presence in Edinburgh has afforded us of thus testifying our interest in the great cause of freedom to the slave, and the entire abolition of slavery; a cause which you have so long and so zealously advocated, with such transcendent ability and eloquence, and in dealing with which, and in your denunciation of slaveholding as a sin against God and humanity, you have wielded with such mighty power the sword of the Spirit, which is the Word of God. We pray that God, who hath made of one blood all nations of men, may preserve you in this arduous struggle, and grant that the glorious issue of your labors may be—the loosing the bonds of wickedness, undoing the heavy burdens, letting the oppressed go free, and breaking every yoke. For myself, let me say, in reference especially to your speech at the recent public meeting in this city, that I have never had the privilege of hearing a speech so powerful in clear illustrations, convincing argument, cutting irony, withering sarcasm, vehement indignation, tender, touching pathos, and skilful and energetic application of that mighty weapon which is great and powerful, sharper than any two-edged sword, piercing to the dividing asunder of the soul and spirit, and of the joints and marrow, and is a discerner of the thoughts and intents of the heart. Such addresses, combined with the diffusion of those clear expositions of principle, and conclusive reasonings on slavery, contained in your published works, "God against Slavery," and "The Scriptures on the Guilt of Slavery, and the Crime of Slaveholding," must, I am satisfied, go far to secure for you, even yet more largely than heretofore, the warm sympathy and the hearty coöperation of the friends of the enslaved on this side of the Atlantic.

Mr. WILLIAM DUNCAN said: The fact that we are in a situation to hand over to Dr. Cheever a sum exceeding £500, is not only most gratifying, looking to the good which, as money, that sum may serve to accomplish; but it appears to me to be even more important in the moral aspect of it, as a testimony in favor of right against wrong, of humanity against oppression. Just look at the facts. In the city of New York, Dr. Cheever was for long a most popular minister, and deservedly so. He was blessed with piety, distinguished by learning, gifted with eloquence. As might have been expected, his Church was large and influential. So placed, he stood well in public estimation, and was comfortably sustained by the free honorable contributions of his Church. That position he might have continued to occupy but for one thing—he could not shut his eye to the suffering of the enslaved millions of the colored population of America, he could not close his ear against the wail of their misery, he could not harden his heart against their appeal for help, he could not resist the conviction of his conscience that slaveholding was a sin against God and man, and he could not, therefore, help standing up, and, at whatever cost or consequences, denouncing the sin, and fearlessly bearing his testimony in behalf of the oppressed. That act, and the Christian manfulness with which it was followed up throughout a course of years, produced a great change in the position of Dr. Cheever. From being a man whom everybody delighted to honor, he became the object of unfriendly misrepresentation, hostile attack, and bitter persecution. Those who so entreated him were to be found, not only in the ranks of men who cared little about religious obligations, but ultimately in the midst of his own Church—that Church which he loved with the true affection of a Christian pastor, and which, I doubt not, in his study, and on his bended knees in his closet, he often watered with his tears. With true fortitude he bore up against it all, nobly sustained by those of his Church who adhered to him, until their finances became so reduced as to necessitate an appeal for aid to the Christians of other lands. That appeal was made to Scotland's sons and daughters, and Dr. Cheever came to Edinburgh to support it. At the outset, some good but hesitating people threw a little cold water on the appeal; but I felt it was impossible that it should be made in vain. Amid all the misrepresentation and haze with which it was attempted, by missives from America, to envelope the appeal, the truth stood out bright and clear. In the spirit of one of the old martyrs, Dr. Cheever stood before us. Many a name, many an incident, in our own country's history, occurred to us as we looked on him; and we should little have deserved to enjoy the social and religious privileges, and the civil freedom, which were secured for us by the patriotism and blood of our forefathers, had we not heartily responded to the appeal. That response will, I have no doubt, have its effect both in this country and America. It would be wrong in me were I to close my observations without adding that, while our Committee have done something towards the collection of the £500, it is to the ladies of the two societies that we are indebted for a very large portion of it. I make this acknowledgment with the greatest pleasure. Nothing could surpass their zeal and perseverance; and, although we would have been glad, from a feeling of gallantry, to have saved the ladies as much labor as possible, I question much whether they would have liked to be deprived of the gratification of thus aiding Dr. Cheever; and I feel quite assured that, had the collection been left altogether to us, we could not have carried it on with the same success. The amount is fair enough for Edinburgh, but I am persuaded our excellent friend Dr. Cheever, and his friends in New York, would have made no objections had it been a great deal more; for although, as Republicans, they have a theoretical objection to one sovereign, I believe they would most gladly have welcomed a thousand sovereigns, had it been in our power to send them. I rejoice to see Dr. Cheever in such good health this evening; and I trust that when he returns to his native land to resume his noble work there, he will carry with him the conviction that he has left behind him in Scotland many true friends, on whose sympathy and aid he can ever rely.

Mr. BROWN MURDOCH shortly concurred in what had been said.

The CHAIRMAN then presented the money in sovereigns to Dr. Cheever.

Dr. CHEEVER then rose and said: I am quite unable adequately to express my grateful sense of your kindness in this generous gift, and of the affectionate, cordial, encouraging terms in which it has been conveyed. It is an offering of benevolent hearts in behalf of the enslaved; it is in their cause, and for their sake, and for the sake of their and our Savior, that I receive it as a sacred trust for the furtherance of their redemption. No words can tell how deeply we are indebted to the indefatigable labors of our friends, the ladies of the Anti-Slavery Societies in this city. Their sympathy, patience, and earnest and continued zeal in this cause are beyond all praise. May God bless them for their efforts. The aid they have been so instrumental in procuring comes to us in America at the hour of our greatest need; for at this very time, amidst all the confusion of war and excitement of the whole country, a new effort has just been made by enemies in council to overthrow my Church, and remove from them their pastor. Our united efforts against slavery have been the necessary result of our conscientious convictions of duty from the prayerful study of this subject in the Word of God. We could not have pursued any other course consistently with the command of God in behalf of the enslaved laid upon us. My own labors you have been pleased to mention in terms too flattering; yet, small and insignificant as they have been in comparison with the greatness of the cause, they have been sincere on my part, and have been met with an opposition and wrath such as I did not suppose they could have produced. By the good providence and grace of God, the Church, nevertheless, has been enabled to stand firm, as being avowedly an abolition Church in the best sense of that honorable term; and it has really been quite a miracle of endurance against a perpetual storm of foes incessantly renewing their attacks. Despairing at length of subduing the Church by hostility within, they have invoked the aid of other Pastors and Churches to put down this abolition nuisance, as it has been called; its whole peculiarity being that it sustained the persistent demand by the Word of God, in the preaching as well as through the press, of the abolition of slavery *just where it exists*, on the ground that slaveholding is a crime against God and man that ought at once to be renounced and repented of. Under these circumstances, the moral value of your munificence is indeed, as you have suggested, even greater than the pecuniary, though that is absolutely necessary, for it is a gift in behalf of the enslaved to enable us to carry on the work of their redemption; and in their name, as well as that of my own beloved Church, I desire to express to you our heartfelt gratitude. The weapons of our warfare are not carnal, but mighty through God to the pulling down of the strongholds of slavery; and we have anxiously desired to put an end to this gigantic sin by the incessant and faithful application of the Word of God against it, relying solely on the Divine Spirit to give that word an irresistible efficacy. This has been, and still must be, our mode of warfare; and your very generous gift will go far towards enabling us to sustain this grand moral conflict, notwithstanding all the efforts of our foes. The arbitration of any European monarch has been declined by some of our statesmen, but I apprehend that Mr. Seward himself would not object to the aid of five hundred thousand of these gold sovereigns in carrying on the war. We, as a Church, can do more by them, as a moral power, than we could with ten thousand revolvers. The war in America may yet ripen into an unequivocal demand for the entire abolition of slavery. This may be God's purpose, and all the glory will be to His great name. I trust in God that the Church will be sustained; and we are confident that it has still a great work to do, and that God will enable it to accomplish yet more for the deliverance of the enslaved. We do not believe, as Milton once said of the cause of freedom in which its friends were suffering, that God has brought us thus far through the fire now to perish in the smoke of an *ex-parte* council, impertinently and without right interfering in our affairs. Whether the physical war goes on or not, the moral struggle must be continued, and you may be sure that my long-tried Church will in every way be faithful to God and the country. Four sons out of one family in the Church have marched in the 7th Regiment of New York, truly for liberty and for the rights of the oppressed. I have letters from members of the Church expressing the hope that Great Britain would sympathize with the North in this great struggle—and God grant that the British government and people may never consent to recognize nor receive to their friendly embrace a nation that bases its whole claim to an independent existence on the pursuit of the traffic in human beings. An opportunity is now given for a national and moral blow against this wickedness such as does not occur once in a thousand years. Meanwhile, may the blessing of God, and his reward in your own hearts, be upon all your efforts. In every part of Scotland I have met with the warmest sympathy and most cordial aid. To the last day of life we shall carry with us the grateful memory of this kindness; and we rejoice that God has kept burning with so much intensity the abhorrence of slavery and compassion for the enslaved by which the people of this country have been always distinguished.

[Before separating, the meeting adopted a Memorial, to be signed on its behalf by the Rev. Dr. Guthrie, and forwarded to Lord John Russell, protesting, on grounds of humanity, civilization, and public policy, against any recognition by the British government of the slave Confederacy.]

THE WAR POWER OVER SLAVERY.

WE published not long ago an extract from a speech delivered by John Quincy Adams in Congress in 1842, in which that eminent statesman confidently announced the doctrine that in a state of war, civil or servile, in the Southern States, Congress has full and plenary power over the whole subject of slavery; martial law takes the place of civil laws and municipal institutions, slavery among the rest, and "not only the President of the United States, but the Commander of the army, has power to order the universal emancipation of the slaves."

Mr. Adams was, in 1842, under the ban of the slaveholders, who were trying to censure him or expel him from the House for presenting a petition in favor of the dissolution of the Union. Lest it may be thought that the doctrine announced at this time was thrown out hastily and offensively, and for the purpose of annoying and aggravating his enemies, and without due consideration, it may be worth while to show that six years previous, in May, 1836, Mr. Adams held the same opinions, and announced them as plainly as in 1842. Indeed, it is quite likely that this earlier announcement of these views was the cause of the secret hostility to the ex-President, which broke out so rancorously in 1842. We have before us a speech by Mr. Adams, on the joint resolution for distributing rations to the distressed fugitives from Indian hostilities in the States of Alabama and Georgia, delivered in the House of Representatives, May 25, 1836, and published at the office of *The National Intelligencer*. We quote from it the following classification of the powers of Congress and the Executive.

"There are, then, Mr. Chairman, in the authority of Congress and of the Executive, two classes of powers, altogether different in their nature, and often incompatible with each other—the war power and the peace power. The peace power is limited by regulations and restricted by provisions, prescribed within the Constitution itself. The war power is limited only by the laws and usages of nations. This power is tremendous: it is strictly constitutional, but it breaks down every barrier so anxiously erected for the protection of liberty, of property, and of life. This, sir, is the power which authorizes you to pass the resolution now before you, and, in my opinion, no other."

After an interruption, Mr. Adams returned to this subject, and went on to say:

"There are, indeed, powers of peace conferred upon Congress which also come within the scope and jurisdiction of the laws of nations, such as the negotiation of treaties of amity and commerce, the interchange of public ministers and consuls, and all the personal and social intercourse between the individual inhabitants of the United States and foreign nations, and the Indian tribes, which require the interposition of any law. But the powers of war are *all* regulated by the laws of nations, and are subject to no other limitation. * * * It was upon this principle that I voted *against* the resolution reported by the slavery committee, 'that Congress possess no constitutional authority to interfere *in any way* with the institution of slavery in any of the States of this Confederacy,' to which resolution most of those with whom I usually concur, and even my own colleagues in this House, gave their assent. *I do not admit that there is, even among the peace powers of Congress, no such authority; but in war there are many ways by which Congress not only have the authority, but* ARE BOUND TO INTERFERE WITH THE INSTITUTION OF SLAVERY IN THE STATES. The existing law prohibiting the importation of slaves into the United States from foreign countries is itself an interference with the institution of slavery in the States. It was so considered by the founders of the Constitution of the United States, in which it was stipulated that Congress should not interfere, in that way, with the institution, prior to the year 1808."

"During the late war with Great Britain, the military and naval commanders of that nation issued proclamations inviting the slaves to repair to their standards, with promises of freedom and of settlement in some of the British colonial establishments. This, surely, was an interference with the institution of slavery in the States. By the treaty of peace, Great Britain stipulated to evacuate all the forts and places in the United States, without carrying away any slaves. If the government of the United States had no power to interfere, *in any way*, with the institution of slavery in the States, they would not have had the authority to require this stipulation. It is well known that this engagement was not fulfilled by the British naval and military commanders; that, on the contrary, they did carry away all the slaves whom they had induced to join them, and that the British government inflexibly refused to restore any of them to their masters; that a claim of indemnity was consequently instituted in behalf of the owners of the slaves, and was successfully maintained. All that series of transactions was an interference by Congress with the institution of slavery in the States in one way—in the way of protection and support. It was by the institution of slavery alone that the restitution of slaves, enticed by proclamations into the British service, could be claimed as *property*. But for the institution of slavery, the British commanders could neither have allured them to their standard, nor restored them otherwise than as liberated prisoners of war. But for the institution of slavery, there could have been no stipulation that they should not be carried away as property, nor any claim of indemnity for the violation of that engagement."

If this speech had been made in 1860 instead of 1836, Mr. Adams would not have been compelled to rely upon these comparatively trivial and unimportant instances of interference by Congress and the President for the support and protection of slavery. For the last twenty years the support and protection of that institution has been, to use Mr. Adams's words at a later day, the vital and animating spirit of the government; and the Constitution has been interpreted and administered as if it contained an injunction upon all men, in power and out of power, to sustain and perpetuate slavery. Mr. Adams goes on to state how the war power may be used:

"But the war power of Congress over the institution of slavery in the States is yet far more extensive. Suppose the case of a servile war, complicated, as to some extent it is even now, with an Indian war; suppose Congress were called to raise armies, to supply money from the whole Union to suppress a servile insurrection: would they have no authority to interfere with the institution of slavery? The issue of a servile war *may* be disastrous; it may become necessary for the master of the slave to recognize his emancipation by a treaty of peace; can it for an instant be pretended that Congress, in such a contingency, would have no authority to interfere with the institution of slavery *in any way* in the States? Why, it would be equivalent to saying that Congress have no constitutional authority to make peace. I suppose a more portentous case, certainly within the bounds of possibility—I would to God I could say not within the bounds of probability—"

Mr. Adams here at considerable length portrays the danger then existing of a war with Mexico, involving England and the European powers, bringing hostile armies and fleets to our own Southern territory, and inducing not only a foreign war but an Indian, a civil, and a servile war, and making of the Southern States "the battle-field upon which the last great conflict will be fought between slavery and emancipation." "Do you imagine (he asks) that your Congress will have no Constitutional authority to interfere with the institution of slavery *in any way* in the States of this Confederacy? Sir, *they must and will interfere with it*—perhaps to sustain it by war; *perhaps to abolish it* by treaties of peace; and they will not only possess the constitutional power so to interfere, but *they will be bound in duty to do it by the express provisions of the Constitution itself.* From the instant that your slaveholding States become the theatre of war, *civil, servile, or foreign*, from that instant the war powers of Congress extend to interference with the institution of slavery, *in every way by which it can be interfered with*, from a claim of indemnity for slaves taken or destroyed, to *the cession of a State burdened with slavery to a foreign power.*"—*Tribune.*

COTTON AND CONSCIENCE IN GREAT BRITAIN.

SPEECH OF REV. GEORGE B. CHEEVER, D.D.,

At Newcastle-upon-Tyne, May 14, 1861.

THE REV. DR. CHEEVER, on rising to address the meeting, was received with loud cheers. He said: Our hearts have been made sad and solemn by the conviction of the very little prospect of good there is for the enslaved in what we have thus far seen and heard of the struggle in America. It seems to be a question only of the supremacy of one party of the whites over the other; while the claims of the four millions in bondage are forgotten or ignored by nearly all parties. But God can easily advance the question from this low and selfish level to the point of freedom for the enslaved; and we trust this is what He will do. For we believe that with God the cause of all the overturning and upheaving in that country is just this: that the time for the redemption of the slaves is drawing nigh, and that God himself is pleading their cause in the very judgments of this dreadful war. "When He maketh inquisition for blood, He heareth the cry of the needy." By terrible things in righteousness He is now answering the prayers of those who have long pleaded for His interposing mercy, and He has declared that when His judgments are abroad in the land, the people will learn righteousness. Dr. Guthrie has referred to the revivals in America, and their singular deficiency of fruit in respect to any compassion for the enslaved, or abhorrence of the sin of slavery; and it is fearfully true. But there is everywhere a most painful disregard of the claims of the enslaved; there is a criminal apathy in this country, and it remains to be seen whether to-day the people and government of Great Britain will be any more ready and earnest in their behalf, when the great responsibility is thrown upon this country, as indeed it is now thrown, of considering their claims to protection and mercy, or recognizing the claims of the slave trading Confederacy to be a nation, and to be treated as such, for the purpose of holding these millions of the enslaved in a securer and more inexorable bondage. The two appeals are in fact made: the appeal of the oppressed, and the demand of the oppressor. "So I returned, and considered all the oppressions that are done under the sun, and behold the tears of such as were oppressed, and they had no comforter; on the side of the oppressors there was power, but they had no comforter." Which appeal, now, will the British government and people entertain? A tide of revival mercy is even now flooding your own country. Will it be found that one of its fruits here is a deeper, more intense, and active compassion for the enslaved, and abhorrence of the slave traffic; or, in spite of your revivals and your Christianity, will you enter into the recognition of a nation that intends to make itself a nation, and demands to be recognized as such, solely that it may pursue the traffic in human beings more uninterruptedly, extensively, and profitably? A nation shamelessly avowing its sole purpose in the declaration of its national independence to be that it may, without rebuke and interference, trample on the rights of four millions of the enslaved, and continue to buy, breed, and sell them and their posterity as merchandise, as an acknowledged national and domestic right to all generations! Alas, we find that even here there is a great insensibility, and a deplorably low moral tone, the rights of the slave being almost ignored, and a disposition prevailing to regard their oppressors with favor. The articles in your public journals, your reviews, and, with some noble exceptions, your editorial expressions of opinion and of sentiment, are sadly destitute of sympathy with the enslaved millions. *The North British Review* is an example, in an article that might have been written by an American of Dr. Hodge's school, so contemptuously does it speak of the Abolitionists of America, and so entirely does it ignore the claims of the colored race. Where is the fire that once burned in all your hearts of fervent sympathy with the enslaved? Why do you permit men of mere commercial morality—perhaps pro-slavery Americans—to lead and mould your sentiments in this crisis, when you ought to call to the work men like Wilberforce and Clarkson, to pour forth the intense and burning indignation of the soul of the whole people, in unmingled abhorrence of this vast crime of slavery, and of all its abettors? The question how you will treat this crime is now anew before you, at your own doors. While you rebuke this wickedness in America, see that you do not encourage and sanction it in Great Britain, with an encouragement and sanction such as it has never received, and such as would give it a new life-lease, perhaps for generations. And let it be remembered that even in America, and by the example of an American New England State, you were first taught, the world was first taught, the duty of immediate and entire emancipation. Massachusetts, the noble old Bay State, that is now pouring forth from farms and workshops its thousands of freemen to fight the battle for the enslaved, was the first State in the world that abolished slavery (applause), before you, in this country, had undertaken to abolish the slave trade. Let it be remembered that when the colonists themselves desired to abolish the slave trade, and prevent it from ever being renewed, your own monarch forbade the accomplishment of this intention. Even in Virginia, as early as 1774, it was declared by the inhabitants that "the abolition of domestic slavery is the greatest object of desire in these colonies, where it was unhappily introduced in their infant state. But our frequent attempts to exclude all further importation from Africa have been hitherto defeated by his Majesty's negative; thus preferring the immediate advantages of a few African corsairs to the lasting interests of the American States, and to the rights of human nature, deeply wounded by this infamous practice." And Jefferson, the author of the Declaration of Independence, enumerated this forcing of the slave trade upon the colonists by his Britannic Majesty, as one of the just causes of our Revolutionary war. Let it be remembered also that the framers of the Constitution expected under it to abolish slavery, and in this expectation forbade the term slavery, or even servitude, to have any place in the Constitution, because, as Mr. Madison declared, they thought it wrong to admit that there could be such a thing as property in man. The Constitution, in its preamble, and in its articles, rightly interpreted, is an anti-slavery Constitution, and the Christian Abolitionists, in demanding liberty for all the inhabitants of the land, have just thrown themselves upon their constitutional rights. And this, perhaps, is the interpretation of the Constitution in righteousness and justice into which God will yet compel the country by His judgments. This may be the result of the war now begun; and the moment it takes that shape, demanding liberty for the enslaved, the North will sweep the South like a whirlwind. But if Massachusetts regiments are to be offered to the governments of slaveholding States to aid in putting down slave insurrection, instead of proclaiming liberty to the inhabitants of the land, and fighting against the oppressors, the South will laugh the North to scorn, and God himself will turn His own judgments upon a people thus betraying the cause of humanity and freedom. War is dreadful in whatever shape: but better that, by far, than continued slavery (applause). In the midst of the most fearful supremacy of this wickedness, God has mercifully interposed, and has cut off at a blow, by their own madness, most of the slave States from the Union. A corrupted part of the carcass is discovered, which drew its support from the heart to maintain the local disease and increase its virulence. A further amputation must follow if this be not enough to save us. One side or other, the border States must soon go. We may hope that thus the Northern gangrene may be stopped, and if the inflammation has not gone so far as to produce mortification, by compromise, even in the remaining part of the body, we shall rapidly recover. If the North in this crisis are but just simply firm against compromise, or if God ripen the purpose of the war into abolition, there is nothing before us but a very rapid victory. If a temporary compromise is carried, then there will be a deeper, more fiery, more terrible agitation than ever, and the conscience of the North will convulse the continent. Besides, the heart of the Abolition party has been thrown among the slaves, and the watchword of that party, the bravest, most fiery, most determined and resistless ever in existence, is the recovery of that heart. They will take it, and freedom with it. Their objects in this conflict are fourfold. First, the deliverance of the enslaved; second, the deliverance and redemption of the slaveholders and the slaveholding community from the guilt, misery, and ruin inevitable on the continuance of their own chosen system; third, the redemption of the cross, and of the religion of the gospel, from the infinite shame of the slander of being a slaveholding Christianity (applause); and fourth, the redemption of Africa, and the millions on that continent, by the power of a religion so rescued from its corruptions, abolishing that horrid crime the allowance of which has so long made Africa a mere hunting ground for demons in Christian livery and human shape (applause). The greatest modern corruption of Christianity is that by which the treatment of human beings as property is admitted into the Christian Church, as a claim and practice not inconsistent with religion. The impiety and blasphemy of the defences of slavery are completed when the "doctrines of devils" are woven into a theological system, and presented as benignant results of the merciful providence and grace of God. "The appeal to the gospel in its behalf," said Brougham, as early as 1803, "is unauthorized by any *dictum* in that blessed dispensation. But if any such dictum should be found in the sacred writings, its total repugnance to the whole spirit of the Christian system is sufficient proof of its being interpolated. If, on the other hand, its interpolation be denied, I hesitate not to declare that there is an end of all rational faith in Christianity; for what can more decisively disprove the divine origin of any system of belief than its inculcating or sanctioning of slavery?" (Applause). It is the system in its very worst exasperations, and with all its unutterable abominations as a slave trading, slave breeding system, that you in this country are called upon anew at the present moment to sanction and sustain by giving the right hand of fellowship and recognition to that Confederacy of slave breeding and slaveholding States, which has asserted a national independence for the sole avowed purpose of a greater security and freedom in carrying on the execrable traffic in human beings. For this sole purpose, this slave Confederacy demands a treaty of amity and recognition from the British government; and now the responsibility is upon you of giving or refusing that recognition. Let us see, in the first place, distinctly, what it is that you are required to do by this demand, or, in the second place, what it is that you are required not to do, by the claims of justice and humanity, by your obligations of mercy to the enslaved. It is no interference, no taking sides aggressively, in any way, that the friends of humanity ask, when they implore you simply to refrain from taking sides with the oppressor. You are asked merely to avoid interfering against the oppressed. For before God there are only these two parties in this conflict, and the question is, whether the British government, by uniting in partnership or treaty with the slaveholding States, will take part against the enslaved, and in favor of slavery, by thus positively favoring and sanctioning the slaveholders and traders, and helping to secure their despotism, and to hold down the enslaved. This is the fair statement of the case. This slave trading Confederacy require you, require the British government, by recognizing and sanctioning their claim, to help to hold their victims more securely, while they may enjoy an age longer of uninterrupted slaveholding dominion, to extend and fasten those chains, and to increase the multitudes of those victims. They demand a positive recognition by you, and friendship with you on these grounds, namely, that they maintain slavery and the pursuit of the slave trade as a national privilege and right, which they mean to prosecute forever, and have broken off from the United States, and set up as an independent nation themselves, solely in order to maintain it, and not be rebuked or interrupted in it. If now you recognize them as a nation, you recognize them as being yourselves friendly to their object, for they state their object plainly, and it is as well known and as undoubted as ever was the object of the United States in demanding their independence, or of the Swiss or the Italian nations in demanding theirs. Their object is the practice and pursuit of stavery, as their chosen mission and profession, the element of prosperity and power in their State, its organic law of policy and profit, of morals and religion. The documents in proof of this are as positive and brazen as the great gates of St. Peter's. Through them you enter to this altar and object of this worship. Out of their own mouth you have their purpose and design, and cannot possibly ignore it or deny your knowledge of it. This being the case, if you treat with them as a government *de facto*, you treat with them on their grounds, and your government recognizes them as a nation for these objects, and being in the full knowledge of these objects, enters into friendship and complicity with them, in the act of such recognition. This conclusion is irresistible; there is no avoiding it. If a government *de facto* is founded on a crime, set under malediction by mankind, and the prosecution and perpetuity of that crime for profit are the avowed objects of that government, and the one grand reason of its independence, then, to acknowledge that independence, is to acknowledge it on that ground, and to treat with it is to aid in that object, and such recognition becomes a national and moral sanction of the crime. I defy all the logicians in Great Britain to attempt to deny that conclusion. The thing is almost too plain for argument. A treaty of recognition asked for a particular purpose, and granted with the knowledge of that purpose, is the support and sanction of the purpose. If it be the robbery and slavery of a race, then to enter into recognition of a nation for the purpose of such robbery is to take part in the crime. You may say that the crime was not your object; but you knew that it was theirs, and you deliberately aided them in the accomplishment of it. And this is just what they desire; just all that they ask. They come to you with this crime in their hands, the high priests of the commercial religion of the world in cotton (a laugh), and they offer you a bribe, and demand of you that for the thirty pieces you shall at least help to deliver up the victim, and bind the sacrifice with cords to the altar. By recognizing them as a nation for the purpose of this sacrifice of four millions of slaves, and their right to build themselves, and secure themselves, as a Confederacy, upon it, you play the part of Judas by stealth, while they take the bolder part of principals, and use you as their tools. This is what makes the very proposition of this treaty so insulting. They know your professed abhorrence of slavery and the slave trade, and your long and persistent activity against it, and how your principle, policy, and religion are publicly pledged against it, and yet they mean, in spite of all this, to gain from you the greatest public sanction of it that ever has been given. They intend to make you enter into treaty with them for the very purpose of prosecuting this crime which you hold in such abhorrence, for the very purpose of sacrificing the whole race, the redress of whose wrongs you have undertaken. There is but one thing that equals the greatness of their crime, and that is the greatness of their insolence (applause). The Confederacy wants servants and allies to do its bidding, and, as a master blacksmith, employs its swart workmen to perfect and rivet the new chains it is forging for millions. "Stand here by my Confederate anvil," it says to Britain, "and hold these tongs or this hammer, while I weld this bar for my purposes; strike here or there and close the rivets up." And there are men to be found in the great British Parliament to move obedience, and Lancashire, terrified at the possibility of a loss of cotton, calls for a prompt recognition, and commercial morality sets it as a precept of the gospel! This, then, is what you are required to do, in recognizing this slave trading Confederacy. An oligarchy of slave traders rule that Confederacy with absolute power, for the one sole purpose of this crime. If encouraged in this dominion by the Parliament of Great Britain, they will be more confident than ever, and, therefore, they ask Great Britain to lend them a helping hand. You are asked to strike hands with a community of slave merchants, anxious to obtain the sanction of a single Christian people for this inhuman traffic, averring that their own independent and prosperous existence is dependent on that traffic, that they live by stealing human beings, and that, therefore, you must join with them for their own support. This is the claim *de facto*, and the government is a government for this very purpose; but if you, therefore, enter into this covenant, you will make a treaty more thoroughly and unalterably to trample on the African race; and it cannot be questioned that such a treaty will be hailed by the South, and regarded everywhere, as the greatest triumph slavery ever gained, and the greatest security for the perpetuity of slavery. Its defenders will be confirmed in their madness, and more than ever determined not to give it up; and whereas Great Britain is bound to do everything in her power to prevent such madness, and to turn away the nation from the prosecution of such cruelty and crime, this will be a deliberate sanction of it, the ministering of fuel to the fire. The recognition will be an act of cruelty toward the slaveholders themselves, for whereas the moral rebuke of Great Britain in a refusal to join hands with them, might have helped to deter them from the crime, such recognition will mightily strengthen them in it. Why should they give it up, if the foremost Christian nation in the world bids them God speed? Out of compassion to the slaveholders themselves, therefore, and to save them from the depths of that guilt and misery into which they are plunging, you are bound to refuse a recognition of their right to this crime. What now is the ground of England's opposition to the foreign slave trade? Simply because it is THE TRAFFIC IN HUMAN BEINGS. But the leading, living, ruling article in the Constitution of this new nation, is the pursuit of that very traffic; nor is there any security against the foreign any more than the domestic slave trade; but beyond all question, both will be prosecuted with renewed energy under the same authority, if you grant your recognition. If the foreign slave trade is in appearance forbidden by that Constitution, it is only a pretence, a juggle; wooden nutmegs are nothing to it (laughter). There is not the least intention of executing that article, and your politicians will be more verdant than they have ever had the credit of being, if they believe it (laughter and applause). It was put there on purpose that it might be safely violated, and at the same time your opposition prevented. So far as there is any sincere and real object in it, it is just this—that the domestic trade in human beings may be more secure and profitable. But, in many respects, the domestic traffic you are asked to sanction is much the worst, the most abominable. Its cruelties, its inhumanity, its detestableness as a crime against society and against God, are as good grounds for refusing to sanction it by treaty, as if it were the foreign slave trade itself incorporated in the Constitution. In sanctioning this domestic traffic, you are taking the surest and most inevitable method of keeping up and increasing the foreign trade itself. You forbid the foreign trade on the one hand, but keep up the market and the demand on the other. By the recognition of this slave government, you will do more to increase and perpetuate the foreign slave trade than all your squadrons have done to put it down. Just so sure as you recognize this slave trading nation for the very object of perpetuating slavery, you will thereby increase and perpetuate the African slave trade. On the other hand, turn your efforts against the domestic traffic, and you eventually cut off the foreign. After dwelling at some length on the cruelties and abominations of the so-called "domestic" traffic, Dr. Cheever proceeded: We come now to the claim of being recognized *de facto*. It is obvious that the mere claim of being a government *de facto* cannot constitute a rightful claim of recognition, or an obligation of acknowledgment and treaty, irrespective of the character and doings of such government. The claim of being a government *de facto*, and, therefore, to be recognized, is only on the supposition that such a government does not, in its very existence and character, violate the public law of nature and of nations. A government whose avowed purposes are injustice and crime against millions puts itself out of the pale of the rule and precedent of recognizing every *de facto* government, and requires and compels the adoption of a new rule and the establishment of a new precedent, according to the emergency. The claim of basing a nation's independence and very existence on the right of slavery as a national business, is a new claim, unheard of in the history of nations, and to be abhorred and execrated by them all; and the British government may, and rightfully ought, and must, in common justice and morality, act accordingly, and meet and treat this case on its own merits. It has been said that inasmuch as Great Britain has always recognized other States, notwithstanding slavery was in existence, so it is bound to recognize these States, notwithstanding the same. But not one of these States ever claimed this crime, as the right and object of its existence, or set the traffic in human beings in its Constitution, as the very purpose of its independence. But this new nation does, and boasts of its freedom and superiority in making this claim. Therefore, if the British government recognize this nation on these grounds, the British government recognize and sanction the crime as a just and rightful crime to be prosecuted by the nation. Dr. Cheever went on to contend that the argument for recognition as a government *de facto* was void, as having no historical basis. In drawing to a close he said: It is rarely that God gives to any nation the opportunity given to yours. You have a power of peaceful moral rebuke on this occasion, which it were worth the strife and sacrifice of a thousand years to gain. You have a weapon put into your hands, and an opportunity of wielding it in behalf of four millions of wretched, oppressed, enslaved beings, simply and solely by refusing to sanction their enslavement. Propose to this Confederacy, as a condition of treating with them, that they agree that, from the date of such treaty, every child of African extraction shall be free-born (applause). You have a perfect right to do this, and with this it would be perfectly safe to recognize this government. You have now the power, by two measures, perfectly at your command, to abolish slavery in America. Provide your own cotton in your own vast empire (applause)—in India, in Australia, in Africa—a thing now known to be perfectly possible, and sustain slavery no longer by continuing your own dependence on the slave trading nation, where, indeed, God, in His providence, is breaking up your resources and rendering them so uncertain and hazardous, that it would be madness in you to continue that dependence. Had you done this twenty years ago, you would have struck the death blow to slavery ere this. Do it now; set your energies at work for this purpose, and you will strike that blow yet. But not, oh! friends of your country, and friends of the enslaved, if you recognize this nation. Therefore, as a second present measure, refrain from such recognition, and administer this moral but withering rebuke, and this community of thieves cannot stand under it. Their only hope is in your support, your recognition. Meantime, your own interests cannot suffer by this measure. Your commercial interests may all go on as usual. You may have consuls there, to take care of them; only refrain from sanctioning the piracy of this nation of slave traders. They will still send you their cotton; they must do this, or perish; they are wholly in your power. They must have your market for their cotton; if not, their slavery is a millstone about their own necks. They boast that cotton is your king, and they hold that king as a hostage for your good behavior (a laugh), your obedience to their insolent dictates. Do your duty, assert the right of the oppressed—the enslaved—to be heard in this question, and these imperious tyrants will crouch at your feet. In conclusion, the reverend Doctor reminded his audience that the question in hand was preëminently a woman's and a mother's question. Remember, he said, you have a Queen at the head of your government—a woman and a mother (applause)—a model to your nation and to the world (applause) of all the virtues of domestic life and the blessedness of the domestic affections, and the inviolable sacredness, purity, and beauty of God's institution of marriage. Now, just think of it—it is proposed that you enter into friendly communion and compact with a Confederacy that broke all bonds of allegiance with its own government, on purpose to pursue, uninterfered with, that execrable business of buying, selling, and raising men, women, and children, as stock for the market. How can a Christian government entertain the thought of recognizing a nation for the purpose of such wickedness as this? May God forbid it. May the Queen's heart, inspired of God for the protection of her injured sex, forbid, by all the sympathies that beat in common with the heart, that you should be capable of it. Take that verse in Isaiah, and make it your motto: "Say ye not a confederacy to all them to whom this people shall say a confederacy. Sanctify the Lord of Hosts himself, and let Him be your fear, and let Him be your dread, and He shall be for a sanctuary" (applause).

AN UNWRITTEN CHAPTER OF HISTORY.

IT seems to be anticipated in some quarters that the muse of history, long years hence, will, ere she lifts the recording pen, ponder over scenes not unlike this:

During the war for the restoration and perpetuation of the American Union, the Federal and Confederate armies, each numbering fifty thousand, were drawn up in battle array. The prize immediately at stake was the occupancy of Harper's Ferry. Bugles were sounding, drums rolling, rifles rattling, shells bursting, cavalry charging, three or four thousand men had fallen on either side, and victory was trembling in the balance.

Just at that moment, big with the fate of an empire, messengers came dashing into the lines of the combatants, and informed Gens. Patterson and Johnston that two or three thousand slaves, six or eight miles away, taking advantage of the fight, had risen in rebellion, proclaimed a jubilee, and were in full flight to

speech, made recently, after referring to the known aversion of Jefferson to slavery, as politically and socially, as well as morally, wrong, said: "Our new government is founded upon exactly the opposite idea. Its foundations are laid, its corner-stone rests upon the great truth that the negro is not equal to the white man; that slavery, subordination to the superior race, is his natural and normal condition. This, our new government, is the first in the history of the world based upon this great physical, philosophical, and moral truth."

Such is the liberality of the new State. This is the cause which we are invited to identify with the Revolution merely because both Washington and his colleagues and Davis and his accomplices had to cast off some restraint before they could commence the work of building up a government. It was the free and righteous republic which justified the War of Independence. It is the dark and nefarious absolutism of the designs entertained at Montgomery that damns this movement of secession. The free States of the North declare that the wicked scheme shall not be carried out—that the American continent shall not be blasted with slavery, but be preserved for the multiplication and expansion of free communities. We are told that the South claim to be the best judges of their interests, and hold that those interests require independence. We have not the least doubt of it. And if they can make that independence good they may become like the earthquake at Mendoza—a "great fact," which men must perforce recognize. But, until then, the prayer of every true friend of liberty must be that an independence, vowed in advance to enterprises which defy the morality and violate the interests of mankind, may never be attained.

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT. WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, JUNE 15, 1861.

CORRESPONDENTS will greatly oblige us by a careful observance of the following directions, viz.:

Letters enclosing matter for publication, or relating in any way to the editorial conduct of the paper, should be addressed, "EDITOR OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD, No. 5 BEEKMAN STREET, NEW YORK."

Letters enclosing subscriptions, or relating in any way to the business of the office, should be addressed, "PUBLISHER OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD, No. 5 BEEKMAN STREET, NEW YORK."

FREE LABOR VS. SLAVE LABOR.

THE ORDEAL OF FREE LABOR IN THE WEST INDIES. By William G. Sewell. Pp. 325. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1861.

THIS work, originally written for the New York *Times*, in the form of "Letters on Free Labor in the British West Indies," and now dedicated to His Excellency, Francis Hincks, Governor-in-Chief of the Windward Islands, seems to be the result of very careful personal investigation and inquiry. Its array of facts, its scrutiny into the conflicting representations of diverse parties and interests, its patient unravelling of the intricate web, wrought by various causes, in which the affairs of those Islands have been entangled, are worthy of careful attention; and the thorough refutation which it gives to the calumny (so often repeated by interested parties there and here) of a ruin of the West Indies through emancipation, is all the more satisfactory that this work is not done in the interest of *philanthropy*, but rather with the desire to solve a disputed point in political and domestic economy. He deems the question a commercial one, to be judged, favorably or unfavorably, by commercial rules. It is eminently satisfactory, therefore, to find our own conclusions thoroughly corroborated by an observer from this stand-point; though, from misconception of the ideas, representations and claims of the Abolitionists—matters which he seems to have judged of by common rumor instead of by personal examination—he supposes himself to have refuted them not less than the planters. If he shall ever read the history and literature of our enterprise with the same patient assiduity which has given birth to the present work, he will experience a conversion in regard to it, not less thorough than that stated (pp. 177, 8, 9) in regard to West India emancipation; namely—

"I came to the West Indies imbued with the American idea that African freedom had been a curse to every branch of agricultural and commercial industry. I shall leave these islands overwhelmed with a very opposite conviction.

"I hope to be able to show to others as plainly as the conviction has come home to myself, that disaster and misfortune have followed—not emancipation—but the failure to observe those great principles of liberty and justice upon which the foundations of emancipation were solidly laid.

"Emancipation has not been wholly successful, because the experiment has not been wholly tried. But the success is none the less emphatic and decided."

Mr. Sewell deems it (and *proves* it) essential to an understanding of the question at issue in these Islands, to consider the position, history and circumstances of each of them by itself; and he therefore gives such a separate consideration to Barbados, Trinidad, Antigua and Jamaica, as well as to several of the smaller islands. Our space, however, will limit us to the notice, by abstract or quotation, of his *general* considerations.

Of the deceptive representations made by West India proprietors in regard to the condition, past and present, of the islands, Mr. Sewell says—that they have omitted to state that their "distress" was aggravated, if not caused, by their own extravagance, and by the monstrous debts, incurred before emancipation, by which their estates were burdened.

Of the Jamaica planters, he says—

"They, especially, and far beyond all the other West India planters, have had to bear the brunt of the anti-slavery attack. But this is not a little owing to the persistency of their own hostile attitude, to their misrepresentations, to the selfishness of their aims, and to the mistakes of their policy. . . . . Throughout many changes, social and political, the same selfishness will be found at the root of all their schemes, the same disregard of truth in their public statements; the same opposition to popular freedom, progress and enlightenment in their acts."—pp. 230, 1.

One of the "facts" urged by this class of men (and explained by Mr. Sewell) shows that the promises of planters *to* the freedmen were as little to be trusted as their declarations *of* them:

"A Clarendon planter recently offered employment to five hundred Manchester negroes if they would change their residence; they refused to do so, and the refusal was published to the world as a complete justification of the planters' arguments and pretensions. Now I was in Manchester at the time, and I felt certain that the offer would be rejected. . . . . The laborer has been so often the victim of promises, carelessly made and as carelessly broken, that he may be pardoned for declining to travel fifty or a hundred miles upon the vague assurance of a distressed proprietor that he will give regular work and remunerative wages."—p. 224.

Of the freedmen thus maligned we are told, pp. 198, 9—

"These people, who live comfortably and independently, own houses and stock, pay taxes, poll votes, and build churches, are the same people whom we have heard represented as idle, worthless fellows, obstinately opposed to work, and ready to live on an orange or banana rather than earn their daily bread. This may have been the case with those originally set free, before they comprehended their responsibilities as freemen, and before their extravagant ideas of liberty had been moderated by a necessary experience. But now that intelligence and experience have come to them, the West Indian negroes cannot be indiscriminately thrown aside as a people who will not work. Since emancipation, they have passed, in a body, to a higher civil and social *status*; and the majority of them are too much their own masters ever to submit again to the mastership of others. They cannot be blamed for this; and any unprejudiced resident of Jamaica will indorse the statement here made, that the peasantry are as peaceable and industrious a people as may be found in the same latitude throughout the world."

Of the pretence that the emancipated negroes "will not work," Mr. Sewell further tells us—

"From my own observations, which I purposely made as extended as possible, I can assert that the crowds of laborers, male and female, whom I frequently met in the cane-fields, were as diligent in the performance of their duties as any other class of Africans I ever saw, either in freedom or in slavery; and actual comparisons have proved that the free laborer gets through more work in a specified time than ever a slave did under the old system."—p. 40.

"While proprietors say that the negroes are too independent to work, the negroes say that proprietors are too poor to pay, or that they will not pay regularly, which is a great grievance to a people who live from hand to mouth. There is, doubtless, truth in both assertions. But when I see an abandoned estate still surrounded by industrious settlers and laborers, I think it something like *prima facie* evidence that the proprietor in England has abandoned them, not they the proprietor."—p. 186.

"There seems to have been a fatality in the course pursued with the West India negro, arising from a determination to regard him as a being who reasoned differently and acted differently from other people. I have ever found him doing exactly what a white man would do under the same circumstances."—p. 290.

Of the pretence that the African "cannot be elevated," a pretence so insolently maintained by *Doctor* Van Evrie and others, Mr. Sewell says—

"I think that the position of the Jamaica peasant is a standing rebuke to those who, wittingly or unwittingly, encourage the vulgar lie that the African cannot possibly be elevated. The American writer who could be found to say that 'any attempt to improve his condition was warring against an immutable law of Nature,' should visit this island [Jamaica] and study more closely the object of his sage conclusion. I think the Creoles of Jamaica have disproved, by their own acts, the calumny of a hostile interest, that they do not work. The most ignorant work whenever they can get work."—p. 254.

Of the kindred pretence, that distinctions of *caste* are natural and needful, our author says—

"In Barbados, the prejudices of *caste* are bitter in the extreme. In Jamaica they exist in a modified form. But they must be swept away entirely if the colony is ever to attain a position of enlightened prosperity, and a 'brown party,' a 'black party,' or a 'white party' must be discarded from the political index."—p. 259.

In regard to the pretence that the freedmen are "insolent," this is Mr. Sewell's testimony:

"I allude to these Christmas festivities [in Jamaica] because they afforded me an opportunity to see the people in their holiday time, when, if ever, they would be disposed to be as saucy and insolent as I have heard them characterized. I found them nothing of the kind. The accusation may be true as regards Kingston loafers, who hang about the wharves for chance jobs, and follow strangers with annoying persistency; but it is not true when applied to the peasantry. The people are no longer servile, though they retain, from habit, the servile epithet of 'Massa,' when addressing the whites; but I have ever seen them most respectful to their superiors, and most anxious to oblige, when they are treated as men, and not as slaves or brute beasts."—p. 217.

In regard to the pretence that immorality has increased among this class, he says—

"I do not think that licentiousness in the emancipated islands will discourage or astonish those who have any conception of the immorality that slavery not only engendered but enforced. Comparisons between past and present times will show that marriages are much more frequent in Jamaica now than they were then; and patient investigation will prove that the prevalence of social vice is but an evidence of the island's very recent deliverance from a state of actual barbarism, and of the very little that has been done to civilize and educate a willing people."—p. 191.

"I do not remember having ever seen a West Indian negro drunk."—p. 216.

In regard to the comparative expense of the two systems, Mr. Sewell testifies—

"The superior economy of free labor, as compared with slave labor, can be demonstrated, even from the imperfections and shortcomings of Jamaica."—p. 260.

"Every planter in Jamaica knows from his own books, if they go back far enough, that free labor is cheaper than slave labor."—p. 263.

Our author declares that it is slavery, not emancipation, which has "ruined" the proprietors, so far as they *are* ruined; and of the ill conduct of those proprietors, both before and since the emancipation, he says—after having spoken of some things which were their "misfortunes"—

"But it was their *fault* that, under the most expensive system of labor known, they were ever reckless and improvident. It was their fault that they prosecuted a precarious business in the spirit of reckless gamblers. It was their fault that they wasted their substance in riotous living. It was their fault that they obeyed not the commonest rules of political economy, that they saved no labor and spared no land. It was their fault that they faced not labor themselves, but were absentees from their estates, and followed a road that could lead to no possible end but ruin. It was their fault that they listened to no warning—that they heeded not the signs of the times—that they opposed all schemes for gradual emancipation, and even for ameliorating the condition of the slaves, until the crushing weight of public opinion broke the chain of slavery asunder, and threw suddenly upon their own resources an ignorant and undisciplined people. Theirs were the faults of policy and government that drove the Creoles from plantations, that kept the population in ignorance, that discouraged education, and left morality at the lowest ebb. It is their fault that under a system of freedom from which there is no relapse, they have made no brave attempt to redeem past errors and retrieve past misfortunes, but have been content to bemoan their fate in passive complaint, and to saddle the negro with a ruin, for which they themselves are only responsible."—p. 241.

Mr. Sewell favors the introduction of coolie labor from India into the British West India islands, declaring his belief that it will be found a mutual benefit to employer and employed. He protests against the injustice of confounding the immigration from British India to the West India islands with immigration to French and Spanish islands, and he declares, from personal observation, that the former is not cruelly conducted, but the reverse; that the mortality on *these* ships is not excessive; that the immigrants are perfectly free men and women, leaving home at their own option, on certain promises, guaranteed by the British government, which promises are truly and well performed, both as to the passage, the term of apprenticeship, the conditions of treatment, and the gratuitous return. He says that the coolies live in the West Indies under conditions of employment, remuneration, food, and general comfort, far more favorable than at home; and that those of them who choose to return at the end of their term do so in a state of comparative prosperity; while large numbers prefer not to return, and many voluntarily renew their contracts.

The concluding paragraph of this book gives us the following strong and unequivocal testimony:

"Freedom, when allowed fair play, injured the prosperity of none of these West Indian colonies. It saved them from a far deeper and more lasting depression than any they have yet known. It was a boon conferred upon all classes of society; upon planter and upon laborer; upon all interests; upon commerce and agriculture — upon industry and education — upon morality and religion. And if a perfect measure of success remains to be achieved, let not freedom be condemned; for the obstacles to overcome were great, and the workers were few and unwilling."

THE AMERICAN QUESTION IN EUROPE.—The article upon "Slavery in America," kindly translated for THE STANDARD by a friend, and concluded in our columns this week (see fourth page), is certainly distinguished by a clear understanding of the subject in all its bearings, and an appreciation, as just as it is unusual, of the labors of the American Abolitionists. The appearance, in an influential European periodical, at a time like the present, of a paper shedding so much light upon the slavery question, and the movements and policies of political parties in relation thereto, is an event in view of which the friends of the anti-slavery cause have occasion for mutual congratulation.

DR. CHEEVER'S SPEECH at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, which will be found on the first page, ought to be republished in every Northern paper. It is a masterly exhibition of the character of the Southern Confederacy, and of the reasons why Great Britain ought, in any event, to resist its admission to the family of civilized nations. We are glad to see that this speech has appeared not only in the Daily but in the Weekly *Tribune*. It is fortunate for the anti-slavery cause that Dr. Cheever is in England at the present time, to enlighten the people of that country in regard to American affairs, and to arouse and stimulate their traditional hostility to slavery.

THE London *Daily News* deserves the gratitude of all true-hearted Americans for its efforts to inform and guide the public opinion of Great Britain in respect to the issues involved in the slaveholding rebellion. Of all the daily journals in that country no other appears to understand so well the relations of slavery to the war, or to be animated by so friendly a feeling toward the United States. *The Times* is manifestly in sympathy with the Southern rebels, but we do not believe it will succeed, to any great extent, in misleading the English people and government.

GRAND ANTI-SLAVERY PICNIC IN ROCHESTER, N. Y.—The friends of freedom in Western New York are invited to join with the Abolitionists of Rochester and vicinity, in celebrating the 85th Anniversary of American Independence, on the Fourth of July next.

Able and eloquent speakers will be in attendance (names announced next week), also music appropriate to the occasion.

The meeting will be held in GREGORY'S GROVE, at the head of South Avenue.

Carriages will be in waiting at the Dépôt, on the arrival of all the trains, between 9 and 11 o'clock a.m. The speaking will commence at 11 a.m. and 3 p.m.

Let there be a large gathering—all remembering to bring with them "*their basket and their store*," that the occasion may be made eminently social, as well as instructive.

THE LET-ALONE POLICY.

A SERMON,

Preached Sunday Morning, June 9, 1861,

BY REV. O. B. FROTHINGHAM,

Pastor of the Third Unitarian Church in New York.

Ephraim is joined to idols: let him alone.—*Hosea* x. 17.

I say unto you, that ye resist not evil: but whosoever shall smite thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also.—*Matthew* v. 39.

IT is interesting sometimes to see how the same verbal doctrine looks from two different points of view, and how the truest doctrine may be misjudged by people taking the wrong view of it. We have here, announced by an old, and by the new prophet, a doctrine which wise and noble men broached for a wise and noble purpose, but which men foolish and ignoble have perverted to ends ignoble and foolish. It is familiarly known as the doctrine of "*laissez faire*," or, as we say in English, the doctrine of "Let us alone"—the "Let-alone Policy." Respecting this doctrine, a great deal is to be said both for and against. A great deal is to be said *for* it, as originally meant; a great deal is to be said *against* it, as vulgarly understood. The doctrine came up in Europe at a time when human nature, oppressed, beaten down, clogged, worn-out by excessive government, began to grow restless, and to protest against the tyranny of over-legislation. The world had been regulated by its rulers past all endurance, and was getting desperate under the fretting action of the leading strings. Government had its hand in everybody's business, insisted on doing everything, and did everything badly. Government undertook to adjust prices of food, to regulate railways, to superintend house building, to fix cab fares, to inspect sewers, to vaccinate children, to send out emigrants, to prescribe hours of labor, to examine lodging-houses, provide public libraries, read and sanction plays, overhaul passenger-ships, test the knowledge of mercantile captains, see that small dwellings were supplied with water, patronize different branches of trade and manufacture; in short, to regulate endless things, from a banker's issues to the boat fares on a river. It even undertook to say for men and women how they should save their souls, what articles of religion they should believe, where and in what form they should worship, what proportion of their income they should set aside for the maintenance of the Church, for the support of charitable institutions, for the diffusion of Christianity. Men and women were scarcely permitted to do anything for their own interest or in their own way. Human nature was forbidden to work in obedience to its own divinely-appointed laws, but must stand still with clogged wheels, and be pushed this way and that by a set of state and ecclesiastical functionaries. When affairs were in this hopeless condition, Adam Smith, in the name of the people, raised the cry of "*Let us alone*," and he meant simply, "Hands off of human nature"; leave human nature free to supply her own wants, in her own way; leave God's system of checks and balances to its own operation; leave men and women at liberty to say what they need, and how they will meet their need; do not tie up a nation's hands and feet with red tape, nor throw secretaries and bureaus in the way of the people's advance. Let us at least try the experiment of managing our own affairs. This was the doctrine of "Let us alone"—a doctrine which resulted or tended to result in republicanism in politics and freedom of conscience in religion. All that is greatest and most glorious and most hopeful among ourselves, all that is peculiar to our institutions, whether secular or religious, comes from this doctrine of "Let us alone." It is a doctrine that meant, not idleness, not indifference, not heedlessness, not lawlessness, not the giving up of all responsibility for the wise direction of things, not an abandonment of moral control over unruly elements, not loosening of the reins to every license. It is a doctrine that meant work, activity, business, self-possession, self-respect, self-help, taking hold of things by the right handle, and regulating things according to rules of economy and justice. It meant, let the hounds loose upon their prey—the wolves and foxes that had been terrifying and ravaging society long enough. This was the doctrine of *laissez faire; let us alone*, and we will do our work, we will educate and cultivate and develop our own temporal and spiritual estates. But when an idler or a trifler gets hold of the doctrine, it means something very different from this. Then it means: Let mat' ' take care of themselves, and go to the mischief, if they will, in their own fashion, or their own no-fashion; it means what democracy means to the vulgar, "Every man for himself, and the fiend take the hindmost."

But to come back to Ephraim. Ephraim was one of the ten tribes which, in a period of anarchy and misrule, had cast off its allegiance to the law of Jehovah, and been faithless to the sacred traditions and worship of the nation. No matter about him, says the prophet; no matter what becomes of him; leave him to follow his own course; do not meddle with him in the way either of enmity or friendship; let him alone.

What reasons the prophet might assign for letting Ephraim alone we can hardly conjecture. There may have been wise and good ones, which we should acquiesce in at once, if we knew all the circumstances of the case. As we do not know them, we will not waste time in guessing at the prophet's thought, but will try to imagine some of the reasons which a politician might give for such a piece of advice.

1. In the first place, he would be likely to say, "Let Ephraim alone, because his idolatry is none of our business. The tribes are independent tribes, with independent possessions, and, to some extent, an independent government. If one of them chooses to separate himself from the rest, to set up an independent State, to adopt a new social system, to adore Baal and Astarte instead of the Lord God, that is his affair, not yours or mine." The very thing the English papers say to-day about Carolina and Mississippi; the very thing the Secessionist says; the very thing the idle Conservative says; the very thing the selfish citizen and neighbor and guardian and parent says, of the foolish, ignorant, vicious and abandoned people, who give themselves up to profligacy, immorality and irreligion. Let them alone; it is none of our business. If people choose to be ignorant and foolish and intemperate and suicidal, whose concern is it but their own? The argument, I repeat, of the thoughtless, the idle and the trifling. It is none of my business that a man makes varnish; but what if he sets up his factory in the rear of my residence? It is none of my business that a man does not choose to send his children to school, but lets them play about the streets; but what if his children entice mine to play with them, beset them on their way to school and tempt them to play truant, or waylay them as they come home from school, and teach them vagrant habits and vagrant vices? It is no business of mine that a man carries on his traffic on Sunday; but what if he carries it on in a way to insult and annoy pious people who wish the day for meditation and rest? It is no business of mine that a man believes and practises all the abominations of Mormonism; but what if he undertakes to undermine the moral principles of society and break up the peace of homes and degrade human nature to the animal? Whatever concerns humanity, more or less immediately concerns me. We are all members of the same body, and if one of the members suffer, all the members suffer with it; if one is wounded, all bleed with it; if one is tainted, the poison affects them all. More than once, the rag of clothing from an infected ship has thrown a whole city into mourning. More than once, the "boiled grass" on which the people fed has cost the king his throne. More than once, the virus of moral disease, infused into some little remote vein of the finger or foot, has cost a State its life. He who refuses to be his brother's keeper stands in imminent danger of being his brother's victim. It is hardly true, then, to say that Ephraim's idolatry is his own affair, and that he may safely be left alone with it. Principles have a mysterious power of reproduction; actions propagate themselves; ideas and feelings spread by divine or infernal contagion, so that, for every falsehood and vice and sin in the world, every one of us is the worse, though not participating in it, nor so much as knowing of its character or its existence.

2. Again: it may be urged that Ephraim should be let alone because he is incorrigible, and all attempts to interfere with him would make him no better, and perhaps might make him worse. A very good reason this, when given by wisdom and nobleness and earnest interest in our brother's welfare; but how good is it when given by indolence and self-indulgence? Are we not all too ready to take for granted that our brother *is* incorrigible? that he has committed himself to his idolatry more completely than he has—that he has involved himself in vice more deeply than he actually has done—that his error is more studied, his crime more deliberate, his guilt more conscious, his wickedness more settled and purposed and malignant than it is? For my part, I cannot believe that any man's fault is absolutely incorrigible; if I could believe that, I should show but little faith in the Author of human nature; for I should think it possible there might be a fatal flaw in the most perfect work of the all-perfect Creator; I should disbelieve in the Infinite Power and Goodness; I should disbelieve in the blessedness of the immortal life. When Jesus, speaking of one's duty towards an offending brother, says, Try on him your personal influence; if this will not do, try the influence of friends; if that fails, try what the Church can do; and, all these failing, reckon him as an heathen man and a publican, I do not suppose him to authorize the *abandonment* of the man to his infirmity or sin as an incorrigible person. I understand him to direct that a new order of influences is to be brought to bear on him; he is to be taken up at the beginning, as one who stands on the lowest level of humanity; everything is to be done for him as for one who is wholly uninstructed and weak; so far from being *let alone*, he is to be put back into the primary school of experience and tutored like a child. Did Jesus treat the heathen man or the publican as one with whom he had nothing to do? On the contrary, he lavished upon him a more peculiar attention, and went very far out of his way to find him and reclaim him. We give our brothers up too easily. Parents give up their children, guardians their wards, teachers their pupils, neighbors their poor, citizens their paupers and vagrants, States their idiots, lunatics and criminals, nations their dangerous and perishing classes, much too easily. It is so much less trouble to let them alone; so much less expense, too, at the moment, that letting alone soon passes for the best principle and the wisest policy, and we let our great resources of conviction and conversion slumber till they sleep their last sleep, while the evil they might have exterminated once swells and multiplies and establishes itself too firmly for any human agency to remove it. That an evil seems to us incorrigible is, therefore, no good ground for letting it alone.

3. But once more: it may be said, if Ephraim is left to himself, he will, in time, put an end to his own offence. The idolatry to which he is joined is so miserable and debasing a thing, it corrupts its devotees so fast, it brings along with it so many abuses and turpitudes, it is associated with so much that is infamous and deadly, that it will do its own work full surely and full soon if permitted to run out into its ultimate consequences. It is too deeply infected with every element of corruption to live long, and, if allowed, it will stab itself with a more fatal weapon than you can wield against it. All this may be very true, but the objection to it is, that while evil does contain in itself the elements of its own defeat and decay, and will, in time, bring down its own destruction, these elements do their office very slowly; they take ages and ages to accomplish their providential mission, and they accomplish it at length at the expense of multitudes of most precious lives, of happiness by the heart full, the home full, the city full, of human order and security and peace to an incalculable extent. No doubt poor Ephraim's idol will prove itself a foul abomination one of these days; but by the time it does so, it will have been the death of poor Ephraim and a good many more less sinning than he. Do not leave it alone, therefore, if there is any hope that you may be able to stop it before it stops itself in this very deadly manner. Besides, do you wish Ephraim to be destroyed, and not saved rather? You do not let the suicide alone; why should you let the sinner alone? You do not let alone the man or woman who holds the pistol or the cup ready to put an end to a painful mortal existence; why let alone the man or woman who holds the vice or the folly or the guilt which is fast destroying the immortal soul? We seize on the brink of the river the wretched girl whose shameful life is too bad to be borne any longer, and drag her back to the world she loathes; why not seize the moral suicide who, in killing himself, kills not only himself, not only his *eternal* self, but the divine selfhood, also, of men and women who are bound up in the same bundle of existence with him? It is hard to see why not. And so the third argument for letting Ephraim alone falls dead.

4. There yet remains one—this: that if well let alone, Ephraim will see the folly of his own courses, and like the prodigal in the parable, will return to his old home a penitent man. If you interfere with him, he may be vexed and angry; his vanity may be piqued; his pride may be wounded; he will, perhaps, persist in his evil career from sheer determination to have his own way, and will deliberately ruin himself in order to spite his unwise but well-meaning physicians. Let him alone, and he will discover his error for himself, and will have no hesitation in confessing it; meddle with him, and you put him upon a defence of his error. There is force in the suggestion. This is a point to be considered, no doubt; not, however, to be considered till it has been tried a little. For the simple fact is—and this, also, is a fact to be considered—that the more people sin, the less are they inclined, as a *rule*, to see the folly of it. The St. Augustines, who are saved by their sins, are exceedingly rare in history. The repentant prodigals are not so common that we may expect a fresh instalment of them every year, as the product of the open dram-shops and busy gambling-houses. Everything depends on this, whether the evil or the good in the system, the sickness or the health, is most powerful and the most active. If the first prevails, then no pains should be spared to increase the power of the second; if the second prevails, there can be no harm in assisting it, that its victory may be the quicker and the surer. No one denies that there has been and is a vast deal of unwise interference with personal and social wickedness; interference that not only makes bad no better, but makes bad a good deal worse—meddling with infidelity, meddling with atheism, meddling with pauperism and intemperance and licentiousness; but the fault here lies in the *mode* of interference, not in the *principle* of it; the inference from the failure is not that the evil, whatever it be, shall be let alone, but that it shall be reached in other ways. One thing is most sure, that men are converted from *evil* only by force of *good*; that force may operate in one way or another—it may operate directly or indirectly—it may operate by way of cure or by way of prevention; but operate it *must*, and idleness, scepticism, trifling will never help it to operate at all, but will hinder and stop it forever and ever. No harm ever came from the general accumulation of character. No harm ever came from the cleansing of the moral atmosphere in which our souls live, and this interferes with all evils, large and small, as the sunshine interferes with marsh fevers, and as the free air of heaven interferes with all the diseases that flesh is heir to, without using a drop of medicine.

The *laissez faire* doctrine, rightly understood, does not mean, let evil things take care of themselves, but let them be taken care of by the unhampered, untrammelled, unrestricted powers of good. No evil thing ever, in appreciable time, diminished or took itself off through being let alone. Through being let alone, no evil thing ever did anything but grow and spread and magnify itself, and put down suckers like the banyan tree, till it became a vast forest of evil things. The old conflict between light and darkness never ceases for a moment; and one might as well say that the night air would cease to be unwholesome if the dawn would only cease to break, as that evil would become innoxious if good would only go to sleep. There are those who tell us now, that all the woes that have come upon us in our civil war are the fruit of our meddling with the peculiar institution of the South; that if we had let slavery alone we should now be at peace. They charge the national trouble on the anti-slavery people of the North. They even go so far as to say that, if slavery had been let alone, it would have quietly disposed of itself, and hidden itself away among the things of the wicked past. They assure us that more than once it was gasping in the delirium of death, when an ill-timed friction and agitation gave new circulation to its blood, and stimulated it to new energy. Virginia, they declare, was thinking seriously of its abolition; Kentucky was tired of it, and was considering how it might be put away, when the teazing spirit of the Abolitionists stung it into fresh desperation, and goaded it into a feverish and obstinate struggle for new life. My friends, a very superficial knowledge of history will suffice to show how mistaken such an impression as this is, by showing that slavery languished, when it *did* languish, simply because it was unprofitable; and revived, when it *did* revive, simply because the invention of a cotton-gin had prodigiously stimulated the cotton culture and added enormously to the value of slave labor in the market. The institution did seem likely to die of starvation; it recovered and flourished because it received an abundant supply of food. This history teaches, plainly enough, to all who care to know it. And history, moreover, teaches this: that slavery never has been, to any considerable extent, interfered with, never to any extent that need cause its friends serious alarm. The *let-alone* policy has been very strictly pursued in regard to the institution. The Constitution has protected it from assault, the government has thrown over it its powerful shield; special laws have interposed between it and its assailants; the public sentiment of the country has at least apologized for it, if it has not approved of it; the public sentiment of the North has never risen to the point of pronouncing it a sin, or even an evil, or so much as a mistake. No great party has ever declared itself its exterminator. The powerful classes in society have steadily justified and defended it, and deplored all criticism even of its character. The Abolitionists have been a small body of people, obscure in position, poor in material resources of money and influence, having no single commanding and widely circulated organ, repudiated, despised and spit upon by all who valued their good name in the world. All the great powers and interests and estates among us conspired to secure for the Southern institution a very complete and absolute letting alone. The Church let it alone, the political parties let it alone, the mercantile class let it alone, the capitalists let it alone. If it was approached, it was approached only to be flattered and courted; its rights were asserted with a vehemence that bordered on extravagance; its great staple of cotton was exalted above every product of the earth. Now, when we consider all this, is it not apparent that the "let-alone" policy, and not the "meddling" policy, is at the bottom of all our present troubles? Who is responsible for the insolence and arrogance that have struck so high a pitch in the last few months, for the overweening conceit of power, the extravagant assertion of privilege, the imperious and boastful temper, the wild expectations and visionary hopes, which have caused great States to rise in confident rebellion, and are luring whole communities towards certain destruction? Who, I repeat, is answerable for this? They who have done their little best to show the wrong and mischief of slavery, or they who have labored so successfully to defend it and vindicate it and shield it? Who encouraged these deluded and betrayed people to believe that an overwhelming majority at the North would favor their uprising, and thus have aided the uprising? Certainly not those who refused to let slavery *alone*. For my own part, friends, let me say I have one pure consolation amid all the terrors of the time—it is, that I have done what I could with my small power, in my small way, and in my small sphere of influence, to strengthen the forces that bore against that bad institution. Many foolish words I have spoken in other connections, many weak words, many words I would gladly unsay, if I could, on other themes; but *these* words about the guilt of slavery I would rather repeat and multiply. Of them I am not ashamed. And when I stand at the last great bar, and am held to judgment for all the idle things I have spoken, I shall at least have the satisfaction of knowing that these, like the widow's two mites, will be accepted as a heart-offering to the cause of humanity; a cup of cold water to the little ones who thirsted in the hot Sahara of the world.

You see, my friends, that I do not believe in the doctrine of "Let us alone," as it is commonly understood. I believe in it only in the best sense, as meaning "Leave us free to attack evils and remove them; untie our hands, loose our tongues, emancipate our thoughts and speech, that we may bear down irresistibly upon evil and the evil man." It is in this sense that Jesus understands, accepts, and preaches the doctrine, when he says, "Resist not the evil man; but whosoever smites thee on the one cheek, turn to him the other." Surely Jesus could not by these words intend to take all restraint from wickedness, to remove all obstacles from its path, and leave it free to override goodness as it might choose. He meant, doubtless, to put surer restraint upon it, to throw heavier obstacles in its way, to make it incapable of overriding goodness at all. He meant to bind it as the fairies in the fine Northern Mythus bound the tameless wolf Fenrir with a chain made of the noise of the cat's footfall, the beards of women, the roots of stones, the fishes' breath, and the spittle of birds. The chain was invisible and intangible, and the great beast knew not when it coiled about him. But it held motionless the creature whom the violent gods, with their iron cables, could not restrain. What Jesus says is this: Do not return the bad man's deed in *kind*. If he wrongs *you*, do not you wrong *him*; if he smites you with the *fist*, do not you smite back with the *fist*; if he steals your property, do you forbear to retaliate by stealing his; if he practises with dagger and poison, do not you practise with dagger and poison; if he shuts you up in prison for speaking your honest mind, and scourges you, and covers you with tar and feathers, do not be tempted to do likewise to him or his; if he slanders you, and lies about you, and calls you coward and "mud-sill," never retort on him his foul Billingsgate, but oppose patience to his fury, and let the gentle answer at once turn away the wrath and rebuke it. Christ says only, Do not try to beat the adversary at his own weapons. There are other weapons of finer edge and harder temper; try these; learning first of me how to use them. This is the way Paul puts it: "If thine enemy hunger, feed him; if he thirst, give him drink." Why? That he may be made stronger to kill you? No, but because in so doing you kill him by heaping coals of fire on his head.

Were Jesus alive to-day, and the spokesman of the nation, would he say to Mr. Jefferson Davis, "You have smitten me on the right cheek, called Sumter; smite me now on the left cheek, called Pickens; you have taken from me the arsenals and mints and buildings, which were my cloak; take now, I pray you, the government offices and archives, which are my coat also; you have compelled me to walk out of your territory many a weary mile; say the word, and I am ready to walk twice the distance, even to walk out of the country altogther; you ask me for the city of Washington; here it is at your service; you would 'borrow of me' the national treasury; behold the keys thereof at your command." Would Jesus say this? Not if he supposed that Mr. J. Davis would take him at his word. Not if he supposed that Mr. J. Davis would be so stubborn in his evil mind as to stand unrebuked and unshamed by this demonstration of magnanimity and divine patience. Not if he supposed that the moral force of such an attitude would prove utterly ineffectual to stay the impending ruin. He would say it, if he said it at all, simply with the purpose and intent of *resisting* Mr. Davis *more* effectually than arms would do it; of resisting him with the potency of *awe* and *shame* and *patience*. This was Christ's mode of resistance. A very mighty and prevailing mode it is, when one knows how to use it, and there are moral sentiments to use it upon; a mode of resistance which will come more and more into vogue as men become educated and Christianized; a mode of resistance which we all should understand and train ourselves in, and become proficients in the use of, for it is the mode of resistance which becomes the highest order of men and women, and is employed always by the angels and the blessed gods.

It is strange enough that Christ should be accused of preaching "non-resistance" to evil and evil men. Bring that charge against all the world rather than against him. For he is the only great Teacher who has ever preached an utter and uncompromising *resistance* to evil and evil men. *He* would never let the wicked alone. He did not leave the Pharisee alone in his pride, nor the Sadducee in his scorn, nor the lawyer in his craft, nor the priest in his cruelty; he sought the curst leper in the wilderness, the tormented sinner in his cave. The demons who had dragged their miserable victims out into waste places and among the solitudes of the tombs saw him coming, and cried out, "Let us alone; what have we to do with thee?" But the Great Spirit went in among the very tombs, and cast the demons out, making them take refuge in the swine's flesh where they belonged. What Jesus did when alive, his religion has continued to do since his death. It is the only religion that has put wickedness fairly on the defensive and pushed it to the wall, and made it cry for quarter. It is the only religion that has made stubborn knees bend in prayer, and strong hearts break with penitence. It is the only religion that has made the robber baron give up his bloody plunder, and the robber king put off his bloody crown. It is the only religion that has unleashed the moral forces of man, and set them in full cry after the monsters of iniquity. The peculiarity of it is that it will not let wickedness alone, that it will give it no rest even in the grave, but pursues it with a terrible retribution into the shadows of another world, and scourges it through the long galleries of eternity. It puts a whip into the hands of every living conscience, with full commission to lash the rascals naked through the world, and when the world's barrier is past, it puts the same whip into the hands of the mighty angels whose mercy means restoration to goodness.

Bad men cry out to be *let alone*. Mr. Jefferson Davis, infested with evil spirits, cries out, "Let us alone; what have we to do with thee, spirit of justice and order and liberty and law?" No, Mr. Jefferson Davis; the high gods love thee too well to let thee alone. Thou shalt not be let alone. Though thou gain ever so many victories with thy chivalry, and drive the nation's goddess from her holy seat, and make for thyself a solitude of what was once a fair and fruitful land, thou shalt not be let alone. The spirit of justice and order and liberty and law will haunt thee; the convictions of the civilized world will encompass thee about on every side, will beset thee behind and before, will lay their hands of iron upon thee; the laws of the universe will close in upon thee; angels and fiends shall provoke thee and cling to thee, until by pity or by terror thou art subdued.

Think not, because justice on an evil thing is sternly delayed, there is therefore no justice, or but an uncertain one, in this world. Think not, because the evil-minded goes free and joyous, and the pure-minded goes fettered and sad, that God is not, in his own way, dealing with them both. It is our blessedness to believe that the Holy Spirit of wisdom and love never leaves human sorrow or human sin alone, but is always working to console the one and eradicate the other. And if he does not do it all at once, it is because he works with such fine and subtle powers, not to invade our personality, but to refine and elevate and immortalize our being. It is our blessedness to think that he is with us in our sunshine and our shade, and will never let us go from the shadow of his awe or the sunshine of his bounty. Yea, O Lord, it is our blessedness to believe that thou hast searched us and known us, that thou knowest our down sitting and our uprising, and understandest our thought afar off. "Thou compassest my path and my lying down, and art acquainted with all my ways. Whither shall I go from thy spirit, or whither shall I flee from thy presence? If I ascend up into heaven, thou art there; if I make my bed in hell, behold thou art there. If I take the wings of the morning and dwell in the uttermost parts of the sea, even there shall thy hand lead me, and thy right hand shall hold me."

Our European Correspondence.

LETTERS FROM HARRIET MARTINEAU.....LII.

MAY 20, 1861.

To the Editor of The National Anti-Slavery Standard.

SIR: Since I last wrote to you I have seen the notices by your Philadelphia correspondent and by Mr. Greeley of what I related of the European view of the Protectionist policy of the Northern States. I must decline to reciprocate any personalities, which are always understood as a confession of weakness, and are always out of place in the discussion of great questions in either natural or political philosophy. The present subject is too large to be mixed up with considerations of my qualifications as a political economist, or the interests of England in any American policy. I have nothing to say of myself; and European merchants, when they pursue their commerce abroad, are no doubt prepared for any fortune they may meet in foreign countries. They take the risks when they enter upon the calling. It is as an American interest that I have

the commercial precisely in proportion to the protection it enjoys; and if the commercial class gets protection of its own, the two together rob the whole society of consumers, and thereby in time break down the foundations of their own fortunes. There are passages in the history of every civilized country which exemplify the natural law of the case; but one or two instances from the experience of England may serve the purpose of illustration with the least risk of offence.

I will pass over the great case of all—that of the corn laws—because it may be thought that a case which involves the food of the people may be no rule for any of less importance. It is no doubt true that the English corn laws had some share in the institution of American protection, and may account in part for General Jackson's view, as quoted by Mr. Greeley; but it has long ceased to be true that the American farmer has no market for his corn, and should, therefore, turn to some occupation in which the foreigner has the advantage over him. France is now clear on the point that corn laws like theirs and ours are thoroughly vicious, and a curse to all whom they affect. I remember Dr. Channing telling me, in 1835, that he had had to read my "Illustration" of them ("Sowers not Reapers") twice, because it required a special reading to understand how a policy so atrocious could continue to exist in our age in any enlightened nation. We are all of his opinion about that, as our fathers would have been if the science of the case had existed in their day; and we now know that the Protective principle is as thoroughly bad in any other application as in that of food, though its evils are less vitally felt.

It cannot hurt anybody's feelings if we look for a moment at Silk, or Wool, or Timber. The 50,000 French silk weavers who came to England on the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes demanded Protection, and got it. All silk goods, from any part of the world, were prohibited. Before they came, the trade was virtually free; and the manufacture preceded the protection, in that particular case. As long as prohibitory or high protective duties existed, foreign silks were smuggled in, from France alone, to the value of half a million of pounds sterling a year. The manufacturers were injured in this way on the one hand, while, on the other, no improvement in the manufacture took place, and a high rate of wages was insisted on by the operatives; and thus, as in all cases of protected production, the community had to pay high for an inferior article; unless they could get it through illicit traders. The gambling trade of smuggling so prevailed along the Southern coasts that the soil was left untilled, the people became corrupted, and the coast guard, which cost us another half million of pounds sterling, was abstracted from the proper industry of the country, and failed, after all, in keeping out the smuggled goods. Mr. Huskisson began lowering the duties, and his successors abolished them. From the moment when foreign silks were admitted, the fortunes of all concerned began to revive. The fabric improved; new machinery was introduced; the smugglers disappeared; we could buy silks and ribbons at their natural price, and the increase of custom was found to be the best protection of the product. In the new seats of the manufacture tens of thousands of operatives have found a prosperous subsistence; and the two exceptions—the Spitalfields and Coventry weavers—are precisely the people who insisted upon Protection as long as they could get it, and resisted, in that reliance, every improvement in machinery, and every new arrangement of wages, to meet the declining profits of their employers. They are now suffering under the consequences of their obstinacy; but in other silk districts the people rival the French in skill, while they have the advantage over them of living amidst a system of natural prices, which gives every man the free management of his own earnings.

The story of the Woollen trade follows the same course; but it has been somewhat complicated with the corn laws, and thereby perhaps rendered even more instructive. Since the importation of food has been free, our farmers have ceased to force wheat-growing on unsuitable lands. We now buy American and Russian wheat; and the farmers devote their inferior fields to green crops or pasture, raise stock, and afford at once more meat to the market, and more wool to the manufacturer, at a better profit to themselves. Again, the improvement in agriculture which has followed the repeal of the corn laws has enabled the cultivator to renew his wheat-growing, by his being now qualified to deal with the stiffer soils; and thus our supplies of all kinds go on increasing, and the farmer, the laborer, the woollen manufacturer, the merchant, and the public, who eat bread and meat and wear cloth and flannel, all prosper. The more wool we grow, the more the demand spreads, so that we are glad to get it from any quarter, and the farmers' cry for Protection is forgotten.

As for Timber; to protect our North American colonies, we excluded or discouraged the timber of Norway and other countries. The consequence was that the colonists turned from tillage to the lumber trade—much to the injury of their own civilization. We lost the custom of Norway, from refusing her great commodity. Our ships were built of an unsuitable timber, and wore out quickly. From the merchants' customers abroad and at home, through the merchant, the shipbuilder, the Canadian trader, the lumberer, and down to the youngest child of the remotest settler, everybody was injured. Since the impediment on natural trade was removed, industry, so long dislocated, has been finding its own place; prices have found their natural level; the best timber for each purpose is at our disposal, and wheat comes in on demand, to the advantage of everybody concerned.

By the simple facts of Free Trade answers are given to those questions of Mr. Greeley's which he imagines have never been answered. So far from shortening the distance between producer and consumer, a Protective duty is seen to create it, or its equivalent in cost. If any American product is cheaper, on any given spot than an equally good foreign commodity brought to the same spot, the foreign one will not appear in the market. If the American product is the dearer of the two, the foreign one will, of course, come in. A Protective duty, laid on to render the foreign article as dear as the American, or dearer, is the same thing as increasing the distance between its origin and the consumer. If the actual expense of the distance does not suffice to keep the foreign commodity out of the buyer's hands, a duty is laid on to increase it; which is precisely the reverse of Mr. Greeley's position. Any method by which the cheaper commodity, wherever produced, is raised in price to the level of the dearer, is a vicious kind of taxation, by which the consumer is fined, industry is repressed, commerce restricted, and everybody hurt: whereas, by throwing open the whole field, so that each country may produce what it can do best, and everybody may buy and sell to the best advantage, each is the better for every other person's prosperity. You will have observed in the recent discussion in the French Chambers how astonished some of the old protected bodies have been at the expansion of their trade, and the rapid growth of their profits, since the natural laws of exchange were permitted to work. The reverse process which your country is trying—that of imposing impediments and restrictions by such an instrument as the Morrill tariff—will open men's eyes, perhaps, no less effectually. Its inconveniences first, and its ruinous effects on trade afterwards; its depressing operation on industry, and its encouragement to illicit commerce, will soon disgust all intelligent people. It was a grave misfortune to us to spend half a million of pounds annually on a coast guard which ought to have been doing something useful at home; but no amount of money or men could guard such a frontier and such a sea-board as yours. In a new country it is a serious liability to tempt reckless and restless men to any lawless course; and it will be a spectacle for all scoffers if the great working class of your republic submits to have its industry crippled and its earnings taxed, and its evil passions excited by any class legislation whatever. Now that the science and the history of the exchange of commodities lie open before all men's eyes, we may hope that your people will avail themselves of both, and keep in check any interested class which, from either ignorance or craft, would fleece under the name of protecting them.

It is true, the English people, and most of their neighbors, agree with the South in the matter of free trade; as true as that we agree with the North in regard to slavery. The Northern States have emancipated their slaves; and the Southern have emancipated commerce. England has done both. She has freed both person and industry. There is not a slave within her dominions; and there is not a penny of protective duty in her financial schedule. The friends of free institutions hope that the day is not far off when your republic may be in the same position. Meantime, as I began by saying last month, the European sympathy, which ought to be wholly with the North in your present conflict, is impaired by the spectacle of the fiscal tyranny which the few should have known better than to inflict, and the many should know better than to endure. As natural laws cannot be evaded, Free Trade is only a question of time. All history, thus far, shows this; but it deeply concerns a republic which professes to lead society on from an advanced point of political principle that there should not be a tyranny in each section of your country which the absolutist and constitutional governments of Europe have alike outgrown.

H. M.

Our Washington Correspondence.

WASHINGTON, June 10, 1861.

THE threatening attitude of Great Britain towards this government is driving our Conservatives to occupy more radical ground. *The Herald* of a day or two since contained a leading article upon the singular position of England at this time, and indulged in a threat which is very significant, coming from such a quarter. It was, in substance, as follows: England plays into the hands of the Jeff. Davis Confederacy simply because she fears a loss of her usual supply of cotton. Now, then, if she does not keep her hands off, if she tries to break up our blockade, we will crush slavery in the South, and, with it, the entire cotton interest for years to come! This seemingly passionate threat of *The Herald* means a great deal. I find it to be the universal sentiment here among men pretty closely connected with the government. If there is any foreign interference that embarrasses us, or if, by and by, the war goes on slowly, then we will end it by carrying the flag of freedom into every slave State and setting every slave free. This is the talk of men who, six months ago, were the stoutest supporters of slavery—men like John Cochrane and Dan. Sickles. So that I am willing to put the subjoined prediction upon record: if by any means the rebellion is put down by the first of next January, slavery will not immediately suffer, though it will have received its death-blow by the subjugation of the rebel slaveholders. But if, on the first of January next, the rebels still make a desperate fight, the word will be given to strike them where a single blow will kill—and slavery is at an end upon this continent.

Certainly the anti-slavery man needs something to encourage him after reading the offers of Generals McLellan and Patterson to put down slave insurrections. For my part, I don't believe the men under these Generals would help put down a slave insurrection in any one of the rebellious States. There is not a man in our armies who would stir one single inch to put down a slave belonging to Senator Mason, or Jeff. Davis, or any other known rebel. In point of fact, it would be precisely as it was with one of your aristocratic New York regiments in this city the other day. A colored man attached to the regiment gave a saucy white man here a slap in the face. A crowd of white rowdies was instantly raised to administer a punishment to the negro, but the New York soldiers, to the number of twenty or thirty, gathered round him *and protected him!* Yet, at home, these very soldiers would have chased the negro, for the same offence, half across New York. It will be just so in the South. The soldiers mean to inflict all the injury they can upon the slaveholding rebels, and they will very soon discover the tender spot.

The great danger of the government and the cause, at this moment, is from dishonest contractors and quarter-masters. It would seem as if no man, with one drop of decent blood in his veins, in a time like this, would deliberately undertake to make a fortune by cheating the poor soldier out of his food and clothing; but, in point of fact, there are hundreds of these villanous wretches in existence to-day, and many of them are the special friends of men high in power. The whole cause is in jeopardy from the conduct of these men, and if Mr. Lincoln and his Cabinet members cannot shake them off, they will themselves be written down in history as worse than incompetent. Is it a fact that the abject worship of the almighty dollar is so prevalent that we are incapable of a mighty struggle with slavery? If so, we deserve to go to the wall. I could recite facts under this head which would make the blood curdle; could show that patriotic Republicans have starved men under their care, that they might make money out of the contract, said scoundrels all the time proclaiming their patriotism in the most vociferous manner.

If our government proves itself incapable of shaking off the army of thieves that cluster round it in the shape of contractors, quarter-masters, and special agents—if it cannot adopt some rigid rule whereby the guilty are punished, *it will fail.* Two of our greatest States—Pennsylvania and New York—have set the example of a squabble between political factions for the contracts, and it is now likely to follow in every other free State. We all know what is at the bottom of this vice. Slavery has educated our people for one hundred years *to risk anything for money.* Acquiescence in the most damnable crime of the age, *for the sake of pelf*, has corrupted the people, or a portion of them. They sacrifice honor, justice, and decency, for the sake of making money. Put a bag of gold, or a big contract, or a plantation stocked with slaves, the other side of the yawning mouth of Tophet, and five Yankees out of every ten will leap across after it, though the chances be slight that he can jump the distance. It is to be hoped that this war will cure our people of their mercenary tendencies by calling out the heroic element. "No matter what this thing costs," said a wealthy old Democrat, "if it takes every dollar I have, if it bankrupts the nation, I want this war to go on till there is not a slave left in North America!" In that case, principle, or enthusiastic hatred of slavery, or, if you will, the war fever, had uprooted the love of money; the man's heart was changed, and he was ready to give all he had for the cause of freedom.

Douglas is dead. I incline to think that some of our politicians are not so very sorry. "He died at the right time for his reputation," exclaimed one of his own friends the other day. He had just done one of the most generous acts of his life—his wheel-round in support of the war, and, to a certain extent, of the Administration. Of course, he would have injured himself if he had not done this; but most men indulge their prejudices and passions to their own hurt.

It is understood that there was considerable apprehension of Douglas's future course, if he had lived, among the politicians here. He was frightfully restless, and entirely without moral principle. In a few months, if he thought the popularity of the war to be on the wane, he would have been very likely to have proposed some hideous compromise with slavery and the South. One of his favorite ideas last spring was a treaty with the slave Confederacy by which we were to return fugitive slaves, and they were to give us certain commercial advantages over other nations. Perhaps it is better for the cause of liberty that he is at rest.

It does not look, at present, as if the government would get the Old Dominion under its control right away. The rebels of Virginia are a stubborn race, and every Gulf and cotton State knows how important it is to keep the battle-field in Virginia. If that State is subdued, it brings the war right down among its originators. So they will fight very hard to keep the Federal troops out of Richmond.

The Virginia campaign is going to be a hard one to fight. Harper's Ferry may be starved out or taken, but it will take a terrible charge to carry the entrenchments at Manassas Junction, and Gen. Butler will have to destroy a hundred batteries before he can reach Richmond, and half that number to get into Norfolk. The Great Rebellion will not "down" at Mr. Lincoln's bidding, and Virginia will keep our troops at bay for a much longer period than some of our raw Colonels and Generals imagine. Nevertheless, *the rebellion can be put down*, but only in one way. The government will keep on its present course, issuing its orders, as often as once a week, to our troops to be ready to put down slave insurrections; but, somehow, *the rebellion* won't be subdued in this kid-glove fashion. After some reverse which makes the Northern blood tingle, after some slaveholding atrocity which will fire the *Northern* heart, the old liberty bell will toll, and *the flag of freedom* will be raised at the South. *Then* the rebels will quail.

I judge, from some things I hear about me, that the government is not so far from adopting this policy as one might think from reading Gen. Patterson's army order. The plan is, I believe, to wait till the Democrats demand the extinction of slavery (some of them do so already), and then, if the rebels make a ferocious resistance, the war for liberty will open.

AVON.

MEETING OF FRIENDS OF PROGRESS AT WATERLOO.

To the Editor of The National Anti Slavery Standard.

THE Thirteenth Annual Meeting of the "Friends of Human Progress," which convened at Waterloo, N. Y., and closed its three days' labor on Sunday last, the 2d inst., was characterized by a great degree of life, vigor, and earnestness, coupled with the utmost order and unity of purpose and spirit. The different phases of the anti-slavery enterprise were ably and faithfully represented by Charles D. B. Mills, Frederick Douglass, Catharine Stebbins, Benjamin Fish, Susan B. Anthony, George W. Clark, Lucy N. Coleman, Giles B. Stebbins, P. D. Moore and others. Of course, American slavery and the crisis absorbed, very largely, the interest and discussions of the Convention, yet other subjects, including Woman's Rights, Marriage, the work of Reformation, etc., etc., were introduced and received an earnest consideration. The attendance was unusually large at all the sessions, filling the large Quaker meeting-house, and on Sunday hundreds were unable to obtain an entrance within the walls.

An interesting feature of the proceedings was the excellent music discoursed by our friends, James G. and Geo. W. Clark. Their souls were thoroughly engaged in the work.

A general feeling of regret pervaded the meeting, that the American Anti-Slavery Society and Pennsylvania Progressive Friends should have postponed their anniversaries, when an emphatic testimony seems so necessary to be borne by the friends of truth, freedom and humanity. Well, notwithstanding this mistake—if mistake it is—we have had an eminently successful reformatory gathering at Waterloo, and the friends of the slave, of humanity and progress, are cheered with the signs of that "good time coming" when freedom, peace and righteousness shall reign triumphant.

I subjoin some of the resolutions adopted with entire unanimity, and which are worthy the careful perusal and consideration of your readers.

Yours, truly, PHILIP.

Newark, N. J., June 6, 1861.

RESOLUTIONS.

1. Resolved, That at this hour, as at all hours, the work of the Friends of Human Progress lies primarily with the inward culture, at the springs and sources of individual life and character, seeking everywhere to encourage and assist to the fullest emancipation of the human spirit, inviting to the largest liberty of thought, the freest inspirations of truth, and the utmost possible exaltation of life into approximation to the standard of the Infinite Excellence; a work to be pursued without weariness or cessation, as paramount to all enterprises or causes, and ever more imperative and vital than all exigencies whatsoever.

2. Resolved, That to such work alone we look as the great agency for the final recovery and redemption of man, it underlying all individual growth, all social advancement and reformation, furnishing the only and sure condition for the solution of every social problem, and opening the royal road to every success, in that it commences and leavens from the within, fashioning from the substance the form, and reaching out evermore from unit to mass, from individual to race.

3. Resolved, That in the enslavement of the colored race in our land, determined and persistent, until now, at length, four millions of our brothers and sisters are held the creatures and victims of that unutterable atrocity, called American slavery, we see clearly enough the deep and damning guilt of our country, and, in its present condition, something of the just retribution; the voices of the universal Providence to-day, and the mute forces even that lie hidden in the violences of passion and crime, evoked in the civil conflict now raging, declaring, in word not to be mistaken, that sin works the ruin of any people, and that the perpetrators of slavery, its aids, abettors, and accomplices, also, are loathed and accursed of God and nature, and must inevitably be visited of swift judgment and condign overthrow.

4. Resolved, That in the struggle now going on in our country between North and South, a struggle already become fierce, desperate and bloody, we find on the part of the South unmeasured imperiousness, insolence and brutality, the *delirium tremens* of guilt, the infatuation of madness, the rage and [illegible] of atrocity, such as can find birth and growth on the soil of slavery alone; on the part of the North, in a measure, the sentiment of justice and a love for liberty indeed, but strangely mixed with very much that is narrow, selfish, exasperated, and full of the violences of passion, swayed and cheated by the jugglery of name, and taken with the hallucination, alike empty and wicked, of maintaining or reconstructing on its old basis the Union, a Union from the beginning perverted from its original avowed purpose, conspiratous and criminal, and to this hour guilty before God of the blood of the American slave.

5. Resolved, That while we are not without hope that from this struggle, not through any design of man, but by the overruling action of the eternal laws, some significant result may come for freedom, and while we regard with sympathy and a measure of gratification the spirit of indignation and resistance now roused in the North to the insatiate demands and atrocious insolences of slavery and the slaveholders' rebellion, we still see that the North is yet far from standing equal to the requirements of this hour, or loyal to the claims of ever-sovereign justice, in that it persists in ignoring the slave, proclaiming from executive chair and from soldier camp its readiness and determination to maintain, and with all the power of its bayonets enforce, his subjugation, and protect to the slaveholder his "institution" of robbery and murder intact and inviolate; and we hereby bear our emphatic testimony against this attitude, as base, dastardly, and cruelly inhuman, and sure, if continued, to brand this nation as a nation of rebels and traitors, North as well as South, to smite it with the blight of bankruptcy and death, making its every attempt to vindicate its liberties futile and a mockery, its very successes defeats, and its victories overthrow.

6. Resolved, That we are indeed in the midst of crisis, but a crisis deeper and more vital than most suppose, involving in its issue the fate of the primal liberties, the freedom of thought and speech and effort, trembling to-day in the same side of the scale with the rights of the slave, a prompt advance to universal emancipation, or a terrible revulsion to oppression and the persecution of the friends and advocates of the enslaved, now inevitable, and between these no alternative; a crisis, therefore, that requires the faithful preaching of the gospel of truth and justice to the people of this nation with an emphasis and earnestness never known before, as not only an obligation, but now an all-compelling necessity.

Chronicles of the War.

THE NORTH-SIDE VIEW.

WE closed our record last week in the midst of events which indicated the probability of an immediate advance of the Northern forces toward Richmond, and a battle at Manassas Junction or Harper's Ferry. It is thought by many that such a movement, when on the eve of taking place, was postponed by Gen. Scott in view of later information as to the strength of the rebels. However that may be, the work of preparation is still going on with unceasing energy. The fortifications around Alexandria are approaching completion; troops in large numbers are constantly arriving in Washington from the North; bodies of soldiers are pushing up the Potomac toward Harper's Ferry, to cut off communication between the latter place and the rebels who are mining in secret at Baltimore; Gen. Patterson, with a force of 20,000, is advancing, step by step, from the North, while Gen. McClelland, with a large force, has already advanced from the West as far as Cumberland. In a short time, Harper's Ferry will be completely invested, and the rebel force at that place must choose between a battle and an attempt to evacuate their position. The want of supplies, if nothing else, will push them to this extremity, even if they are not attacked.

Gen. Banks, late Governor of Massachusetts, has taken the command at Baltimore, where the rebels, though cowed, are working in secret, and nursing the hope that in some way or other Jeff. Davis may succeed in turning Gen. Scott's flank and throwing a force into Maryland. The police of Baltimore are in sympathy with the rebellion, and the Secessionists are said to be prepared to rise the moment they can do so with any prospect of success. The presence of Gen. Banks and the frowning guns of Fort McHenry will doubtless keep the rebels in order, the influence of Chief-Justice Taney to the contrary notwithstanding.

The Convention of Western Virginia met at Wheeling on Tuesday. It will doubtless organize a Provisional Government, around which the whole Western portion of the State and the loyal citizens of the East will rally.

The garrison at Cairo is becoming stronger every day. The rebels in Missouri and Kentucky are working desperately, but it is believed that the Union men, supported by the national government, are strong enough to defeat their projects. Gen. Prentiss, at the request of loyal citizens of Kentucky, lately sent an expedition into that State, a few miles below Cairo, to dislodge a rebel camp. The rascals fled without any attempt at defence. Gen. Prentiss has also arrested two leading citizens of Marion, Williamson County, Ill., Messrs. Pulley and Blanchard, the proofs of whose treason are said to be overwhelming. Williamson County is said to be full of the spirit of rebellion. The people are mostly emigrants from the South, and in full sympathy with the traitors. It is not unlikely that Pulley and Blanchard will be hung.

James E. Harvey, formerly Washington correspondent of *The Tribune* and other Northern papers, and who was recently appointed Minister to Portugal, has been recalled; the telegraphic dispatches lately seized by the government having contained the most unquestionable proofs of his treachery. He was in secret communication with the rebels at the very time when he was asking for a diplomatic appointment at the hands of the Administration!

A BATTLE AT GREAT BETHEL.

The most serious collision which has thus far taken place between the Federal forces and those of the rebels—and, as it proved, the most unfortunate for us—occurred on Monday morning at a place known as Great Bethel, about twelve miles from Fortress Monroe, and near the road conducting to Yorktown. Gen. Butler, having heard that the rebels were engaged there in throwing up intrenchments, determined to dislodge them, and for this purpose detailed the Albany Regiment, commanded by Col. Townsend, Duryee's Zouaves, and the Seventh Regiment (German), commanded by Col. Bendix, together with a detachment of United States Artillery, commanded by the Lieut. Greble, with four 12-pound howitzers, the whole numbering some 3,000, under command of Brig.-Gen. Pierce. The troops moved on the expedition about midnight on Sunday night, those from Hampton crossing Hampton Creek on batteaux manned by members of the Naval Brigade. Owing to an unfortunate mistake relative to signals, two of the regiments came in collision in the darkness while on the way, and fired into each other, under the mutual supposition that they were enemies. The casualties from this event, however, were not considerable. After the mistake was rectified, the entire force moved on Great Bethel, where the enemy was encountered in much larger force than was anticipated, strongly intrenched, and having heavy ordnance, several pieces of which were rifled cannon. Several attempts were made to carry the position, in which our troops behaved in the most gallant manner, but for lack of a sufficiency of artillery and ammunition, this enterprise had finally to be abandoned. Fourteen of the Federal troops were killed, and forty-five wounded. Lieut. Greble, of the regular service, a brave young officer, beloved and respected by all, was killed at the moment of retiring from the field. It is reported that Maj. Theodore Winthrop, aid to Gen. Butler, and Lieut.-Col. Grinnell of the Albany Regiment are missing, and it was feared that they were killed; there is room for hope, however.

On the withdrawal of the Federal troops, the rebel cavalry and infantry, in considerable force, followed as far as Newmarket bridge, this side of Little Bethel, inhumanly charging, in one instance, those bearing off the dead and wounded. The bridge was burned.

Much bitterness of feeling existed among our men, according to our dispatches, toward Brig.-Gen. Pierce; our Washington correspondent states that the feeling at the Capital was intense in its indignation. When our fuller and more accurate information comes to hand, the aspect of the case may be somewhat changed.

DEVELOPMENTS OF THE SEIZED TELEGRAMS.

The developments that are likely to follow the seizure of the dispatches filed in the telegraph offices will astound the country. They will show a system of treachery extending through all grades of official business and social circles. Almost everybody appears to have been engaged in giving aid and comfort to the rebels, and to have furnished means and information for securing a triumph of the rebellion. Members of Congress from free States figure frequently among these flashes of intelligence. I think your City Representatives, some of whom are now seeking commissions in the Federal army, did their full share in giving information and telegraphic encouragement to the rebel leaders then engaged in rushing their States into the vortex of secession. Reporters for Northern Free Soil papers handed in to the telegraph office the knowledge they had obtained through their Free Soil professions. Even the members of the Peace Congress, and some from free States, held out words of encouragement to the rebel leaders, that if they would keep up the fire they would break the Free Soilers down. Several of the members of that Convention from the border States gave regular reports of its proceedings to the rebels, while at the same time they were insisting that the proceedings should be kept from the Northern press and public.—*Washington Cor. Times.*

THE SOUTH-SIDE VIEW.

The discontinuance of the United States mail service at the South cuts us off from the best sources of information in regard to the movements in that quarter, leaving us a prey to all manner of uncertainties and rumors. There is no doubt, however, that the rebels have concentrated a formidable force in Virginia, and that they are prepared to make a desperate and bloody resistance. They are strongly fortified at Manassas Junction, and are fortifying the approaches to Richmond. Jefferson Davis is in command at the latter, and Gen. Beauregard at the former place, while Gen. Pillow is at the head of a considerable force on the Mississippi.

The reports brought by exiles from the South of the state of society there are fearful indeed. The terrorism that everywhere prevails makes any form of dissent from the measures of the rebels dangerous to life. Thousands are fleeing to the North, many of them after enduring the grossest insult and injury. We might fill columns with their tales of outrage and wrong.

"SABLE CLOUDS."

NOT SO STUPID AS THEY ARE THOUGHT TO BE.—*Fort Monroe, June 7.*—On my way into the camp I passed a group of negroes sitting on the edge of the bluff, and looking foward Africa. They were of all ages, sizes, sexes and costumes. In brief, they were a group of the famous "contrabands" who had come in during the night from the adjacent country, and were to be sent down to Fort Monroe by the next boat, which happened to be the one on which your correspondent embarked. One of them—a little fellow with a face as black as an ink-bottle, big, tumorous lips, white ebonies and brief breeches, who wore also an enormous cap *a la militaire*, of the precise pattern adopted by the secession army—looked at me with a peculiar grin as I passed.

"Are you a contraband?" I inquired.

"Yah! yah! yah! I gueff so!" was the response. "Massa run away, den de darkies run away too!" continued he, laughing, and all his companions joining in the demonstration.

On the boat coming down to the fort this afternoon, there were a large number. I questioned some of them, and I can assure you the stupid ignorance which they have been supposed to exhibit is a mistake. They are bright and intelligent. The most of them seem happy at the thought of escape, though the uncertainty of their future and the strangeness of the scenes through which they are passing impresses them deeply. One old female slave assured me she had "a kind, a *werry* kind massa!" "Why, bless de Lor'!" she added, in proof of the fact, "*he nebber put wires in his cowhides in all his life!*"—*World.*

TWO SLAVES RETURNED—SOLDIERS DISGUSTED.—Two fugitive slaves sought protection in the camp of the New York 12th to-day (June 10th), the owners in hot pursuit. Owners and chattels were marched under guard to Gen. Mansfield's quarters. On assurance that the former were good Union men, he directed the latter's restoration. The masters offered money to the 12th boys, who, already sufficiently disgusted, declined to receive it, and declared that they would never again engage in negro catching.—*Cor. Tribune.*

STILL THEY COME!—*Fortress Monroe, Old Point, June 4, 1861.*—Negroes, in search of information, continue to straggle into our camps and the fortress. All such take the appellation of Virginia Volunteers. The idea pleases them wonderfully. "Massa run away first, and dis child had to look out for his self," say they. And such is the fact in most cases.—*Tribune.*

TOO MUCH "CONTRABAND."—*Washington, Friday, June 7.*—Dr. Kimball, surgeon of Gen. Butler's staff, arrived in Washington this morning from Fortress Monroe. He states that fugitive slaves are rushing to the fort in such numbers as to occasion the commander great inconvenience and uneasiness. He thinks that slavery in the Old Dominion is at an end.—*Times.*

WHAT SHALL BE DONE WITH THEM?—Under this head the New Orleans *Crescent* says:

On the 28th inst., Capt. G. W. Gregor, of the privateer Calhoun, brought to the station of this District about ten negro sailors, claiming to be free, found on board of the brigs Panama, John Adams and Mermaid.

The Recorder sent word to the Marshal of the Confederate States that said negroes were at his disposition. The Marshal refused to receive them or have anything to do with them; whereupon the Recorder gave the following decision:

"Though I have no authority to act in this case, I think it is my duty, as a magistrate and good citizen, to take upon myself, in this critical moment, the responsibility of keeping the prisoners in custody, firmly believing it would not only be bad policy, but a dangerous one, to let them loose upon the community."

The following dispatch was sent by the Recorder to Hon. J. P. Benjamin:

NEW ORLEANS, May 29, 1861.

To J. P. Benjamin, Richmond:

SIR: Ten free negroes, taken by a privateer, from on board three vessels returning to Boston, from a whaling voyage, have been delivered to me. The Marshal refuses to take charge of them. What shall I do with them? Respectfully, A. BLACHE,
Recorder Second District."

There is every reason to believe that these free citizens of Massachusetts have been or will be sold into slavery!

"CONTRABAND" CHATTELS AT NEWPORT NEWS.—A letter in *The Tribune* from Newport News, 6th inst., says: "Within the last few days about fifty negroes have taken refuge in this camp, many of them women and children. They were sent down to the fortress on the steamer to-day, to swell the ranks of "Virginia Volunteers," which are daily increasing under Gen. Butler's system of enlistment. The "African Division" now requires the exclusive attention of a man who has been assigned this new branch in the public service."

A NEGRO PREACHER HUNG.—A negro preacher, belonging to Mrs. Haden, at Pine Bluff, indulged in violent language to his mistress last Sunday afternoon, remarking, among other things, that he would be free in three weeks, and could raise a thousand men himself for the purpose. His case was reported to the authorities the same evening, and he was taken out and hung on Monday afternoon.—*Memphis Bulletin, May 30.*

MAN AND HORSE.—On Saturday, a slave belonging to Gen. John A. Washington, a leader in the rebel army, escaped and entered the camp Alexandria. Mr. Washington's agent came after him, mounted on a fine horse. Major Petriken declared slave and horse contraband, and the Colonel seized and retained them both.—*Cor. Times.*

STRIKING HOME.—The Southern papers continually publish such paragraphs as the following, which we find in the Tuscumbia *North Alabamian:*

"*Search Your Negro Quarters.*—Recent investigations have developed the fact that many of our negroes have fire-arms, bowie-knives and ammunition in their possession, and it is expedient that every slave owner should make a careful search of his negro quarters, and secure all such arms and ammunition; also to keep a constant watch over all suspicious persons who may be loitering around. A little care bestowed upon this subject may save much trouble in the future."

The negroes in New Orleans also seem to be hatching mischief, for we find this solemn warning in the *True Delta* of the 29th of May:

"*Unlawful Assemblages.*—We have again and again received information of the motions and sentiments of vagabond free persons of color, upon whom it would be well that the police should keep an eye. These men are without ostensible means of earning a livelihood, and are by many degrees too familiar with our slave population, instilling into their minds sanguine notions of the 'good time' to be experienced in the event of Lincoln's hoped-for success over the Southern people. The lake end of the Ponchartrain Railroad is infested with persons of this character, who exhibit a remarkable shrewdness in broaching their pestiferous hints and suggestions.

"The city also affords rendezvouses at which there are gathered knots of these vagabonds at unseasonable hours. Of course, the localities are selected with a view to privacy and remoteness from the inquisitive eye of the watchman. Careful espionage may bring to light the object of these nocturnal consultations."

COMING OVER THE BORDER.—*Harrisburg, June 7, 1861.*—Over one hundred fugitives from labor, from the neighborhood of Winchester, arrived here on Wednesday and Thursday nights. They say that no attempt is made to arrest runaway slaves—and the mountains of Virginia are full. The last arrivals were in a wretched plight, having been on the road ten days. They were supplied with provisions, and sent on their way rejoicing toward the promised land—Canada.—*Tribune.*

SLAVE-CATCHING OBSOLETE.—*Philadelphia, June 5.*—A gentleman just in from the Counties bordering on Maryland, informs me that there is a small but constant stream of fugitive slaves coming over our State line from Maryland and Virginia. No one undertakes to molest them, the Fugitive Slave law being, by common consent, regarded as dead. On the contrary, life-long Democrats, residing on the track of the fugitives, not only refuse to intercept their flight, but feed them generously. A year ago these men would have considered themselves bound to aid in catching them. But all that feeling of duty is now gone, and is entirely reversed. Indeed, the general change of sentiment in regard to the alleged rights of slaveholders is most remarkable. We cannot yet divine what is to become of slavery, but we are fast washing our hands of all sympathy for it.—*Tribune.*

REJOICING AT FORT MONROE.—The approval by President Lincoln of Gen. Butler's course in declaring slaves contraband of war causes much rejoicing in Fort Monroe. In consequence of this decision we shall secure a large amount of much-needed labor at the Fortress and the neighboring encampments, and get at a variety of valuable information with regard to the movements of the Secessionists.—*Cor. Times.*

SHAMEFUL.—*Washington, June 11.*—Three slaves were taken into one of the camps yesterday. A Mr. Webb, of Virginia, claimed to be their owner, and demanded them. The colonel refused, deeming them contraband. They were sent over to Gen. Sandford's quarters, upon his order, where Webb again presented himself, and Gen. Sandford sent for a wagon at his own expense, into which the three negroes were placed and sent back to Virginia, to the entire satisfaction of their secession master. This act on Gen. Sandford's part has given rise to much comment to-day, and he gets very little credit in any quarter save among the rebel slaveowners over the river.

INSUBORDINATION.—A letter from Cairo in *The Herald*, dated June 7, and giving reports brought by exiles from the South, says:

"The negroes, my informant states—and he gives the proof of what he says—are fully informed as to the causes of the present difficulties, and manifest a decided stubbornness and spirit of insubordination. The patrol find it very difficult to keep the negroes down, and the most rigid measures are adopted to prevent insurrections. Negroes are utterly unsaleable; they will not now command one-half price, and it is apprehended that should the war continue one year longer the negroes will not be worth two hundred dollars per head."

THE FUGITIVE SLAVE QUESTION.—*Washington, June 10, 1861.*—The Cabinet have had a long meeting to-day, and, it is reported on good authority, have decided to instruct Gen. Butler not to receive any more fugitive slaves into Fortress Monroe. The fear is that at the end of the war the government may have a very extensive elephant on its hands, and no place to keep him. At the same time, there is no disposition exhibited, nor instructions given, to send walking and running property back to the point from whence it came, but to let it alone. It is increasing so fast that the whole subject resolves itself into a question of feed. At the same time the "niggers" should not be allowed to return to their masters, because they will be employed by the enemy, as they have heretofore been against the government.—*Herald.*

Fortress Monroe, Old Point, June 8, 1861.—A new batch of negroes came in yesterday, and to-day the grand total has been somewhat enlarged. A few days since, a company left their homes in the neighborhood of Back River, embarked in row-boats, with a quantity of furniture, bedding, and a dressed hog, and came down the Chesapeake to Old Point, and landed in safety. You should have seen them as they marched into the Fortress. "De Lord is in it," said a venerable old Joe. "I know'd he'd do it!" and his face shone with thankfulness as he led the troop into the strong place of refuge.

A SPECIMEN OF CONTRABAND.—*Washington, June 12.*—An ebony specimen of "contraband," who says he "Missed his ole massa 'bout tree weeks ago, one dark night in Virginia, an' hasn't seen him since," is employed in Fortress Monroe, and came up with Lieut. Butler to-day. He ran away from Virginia, and has been in the fort some weeks. He was sent out some days ago, being acquainted with the country beyond Hampton, and reported the existence of a battery at "Big Bethel"—having eluded the pickets, and got where he could spot rebel forces. He reported several companies in and around Great Bethel, and, subsequently to his discovery, lay some twenty-four hours in the bushes, concealing himself from the foe. He at last escaped, was shot at, received a ball through the sleeve of his jacket, another shot away a pistol from his belt, yet he returned to the fort unharmed. When the late expedition went forward, this negro accompanied Lieut. Butler and Major Winthrop. The Major left his horse with him, when he disappeared. This colored boy is a most intelligent sample of his race, and is said to be very useful at the fort, as scout and servant. He goes fully armed, always, and says he "can smell a rebel furderer dan he ken a skunk." He was in the thickest of the late fight, and was highly serviceable to Lieut. Butler throughout the conflict.

VARIOUS FACTS AND INCIDENTS.

QUAKERS REQUIRED TO HELP.—It is stated that on Sunday morning, the 2d inst., during religious service, an officer rode up to the Quaker meeting-house at Waterford, Loudon County, Va., seven miles from Leesburg, and ordered the people there assembled to be at Harper's Ferry on the next Monday morning, with all their wagons and teams, to move the materials of the troops then there.

AN EX-GOVERNOR FLED.—Ex-Gov. Ross, of Delaware, has fled the country. He sailed for Europe in the steamer of Saturday. He has been engaged in sending arms and munitions to the rebels of the South, and flies now from the expected wrath of the citizens of Delaware.—*Times.*

EXPENSES OF THE WAR.—According to the verbal statement of Gen. Scott, there are now under arms and in the pay of the government of the United States 220,000 men. To maintain this army, after its equipment, will require $1,000,000 annually to each regiment, or $220,000,000 a year. The Navy will require, in addition, at least half that sum, so that, with the ordinary expenses of the government, we may safely put down our national expenses at this time at the rate of $365,000,000 a year, or $1,000,000 a day. Large as is this probable sum, the loyal people of the United States are quite able to meet it, and will no more hesitate to incur the charge than an affectionate father would cavil at the cost of a ladder required to effect the escape of his child from the roof of a burning dwelling.—*Times.*

LOOKS LIKE "BUSINESS."—The Chicago *Democrat* says: The government has chartered twenty-five steamers to be used on the Mississippi. As they will not be needed on the upper, we rather suspect they are designed for the lower Mississippi. That looks like "business," and we may, "one of these days," expect to have word from "Dixie's Land," direct from New Orleans. Oh, "I wish I was in Dixie!"

GETTING CONVERTED.—A conservative Presbyterian minister, always heretofore hostile to abolitionism, writes to the New York *World:* "One thing seems quite plain. The present attitude of the South is rapidly converting the whole North to determined abolitionism. I alm

Miscellaneous Department.

NIGHT SHOWETH KNOWLEDGE.

BY WILLIAM HABINGTON.—1605.

When I survey the bright
Celestial sphere,
So rich with jewels hung, that night
Doth like an Ethiop bride appear,

My soul her wings doth spread,
And heavenward flies,
The Almighty mysteries to read
In the large volumes of the skies.

For the bright firmament
Shoots forth no flame
So silent, but is eloquent
In speaking the Creator's name;

No unregarded star
Contracts its light
Into so small a character,
Remov'd far from our human sight,

But if we steadfast look
We shall discern
In it, as in some holy book,
How man may heavenly knowledge learn.

It tells the conquerer,
That far-stretch'd power,
Which his proud dangers traffic for,
Is but the triumph of an hour:

That, from the farthest north,
Some nation may
Yet undiscover'd issue forth,
And o'er it new-got conquest sway.

Some nation, yet shut in
With hills of ice,
May be let out to scourge his sin,
Till they shall equal him in vice.

And then they likewise shall
Their ruin have;
For as yourselves your empires fall,
And every kingdom hath a grave.

Thus those celestial fires,
Though seeming mute,
The fallacy of our desires,
And all the pride of life confute.

For they have watch'd since first
The world had birth;
And found sin in itself accurst,
And nothing permanent on earth.

A CHAPTER OF HISTORY.

Translated for THE STANDARD, from The German, French, and Foreign Review.

SLAVERY IN THE UNITED STATES.

(Concluded from last week.)

TRUTH and justice generally find organs worthy of them, but the personages of the anti-slavery party reunited in a rare degree the moral and intellectual qualities which fitted them for the task they undertook. By the purity of his life, by the gentleness of his character, and by the constancy of his devotedness to the cause of the oppressed, Garrison now commands the esteem of his opponents themselves, and none pronounce save with respect the name of him who, in 1835, was dragged through the streets of Boston with a rope about his body. After him, comes Wendell Phillips. Belonging to one of the most respected families in Boston, he might have fulfilled at will the first functions of the State, if he would but have placed at the service of a political party that eloquence which is universally acknowledged to be unequalled, even in a country so fruitful in great orators. By his passionate appeals he can at will stir up the multitude, and win the rudest auditory, as he can satisfy the most fastidious by the charm of his admirable diction, the graces of a refined and cultivated mind, and the logical power of his argument. For years, at freqent intervals and before audiences the most unlike, has this orator repeated his addresses on the subject of slavery, presenting it in lights infinitely varied, accommodating it to the circumstances, and always having the art, or rather the strength of sincerity and passion, to make it always seem new. This prolonged agitation could not remain fruitless. The Abolitionists have seen the most eminent men of their country approaching them one after another. Dr. Channing, who long considered their attacks upon the South as too violent, towards the end of his life gave public testimony of his adhesion to the cause of abolition. After him, Theodore Parker, a man of a more ardent soul, threw himself more fully into the movement, and preached in his pulpit the same doctrines as Garrison and Phillips; and his teachings were so efficacious that since his recent death, his numerous congregation, which has not yet definitively filled his place, have many times engaged Phillips, although he is not a minister, to preach in that desk which the great pulpit orator has rendered so celebrated. Emerson, an attic spirit, the only philosopher of whom republican America can boast, has not been a niggard of his sympathies and his cooperation. Shall I say that all in the United States who think and lead an intellectual life encourage the Abolitionists with their good wishes and strengthen them as coadjutors? Unhappily it is not so; prudence and even servility are not incompatible with talent. But among those who fear to join the Abolitionists there are many who know that the future will correct the injustice of the present, and that impartial history will one day give a very different judgment of the partisans of emancipation from the one that men stammer over them to-day.

Keeping themselves free, on principle, from connection with any of the political movements which share the direction of the Union—isolated in their moral opposition as in an impregnable intrenchment—the Abolitionists have seen parties form and crumble to pieces around them without being moved. But in course of time, under the influence of their teachings upon the current of public opinion, these parties are more and more inspired with their doctrines. By the side of the Democrats and the Conservative Whigs, a party has been formed, feeble at first and afterwards more numerous, that under different names has pursued a definite object—the limitation of the domain of slavery. This party at first took the name of the Liberty party, then the Free Soil party, and finally, the Republican party. Under this last name, it presented itself for the first time at the elections which carried Mr. Buchanan into power. The Republican candidate, Mr. Fremont, celebrated for his numerous journeys to the Rocky Mountains, lost his election in consequence of the support given to the Democrats by the States of Pennsylvania and New York. It is interesting to know the programme of the first Republican Convention. It may be thus briefly expressed: adhesion to the Constitution of the United States, absolute prohibition of slavery in the Territories (and, in allusion to the Mormons, polygamy also), reëstablishment of legal order in Kansas, immediate admission of Kansas as a free State, reprobation of the circular of Ostend (programme of a system of annexation embracing Cuba and Mexico, which was drawn up at Ostend by the American diplomatic personages). The relative success of Mr. Fremont's candidature revealed to the Republican party its own strength, and at the same time drove the Democrats to the last extremities. Under Mr. Buchanan's Administration, they thought all things permitted to them. The Supreme Court, the highest tribunal in the Union, the arbiter of all constitutional questions, gave a decision (known by the name of the black in whose case it was pronounced, as the Dred Scott decision), in virtue of which a citizen of the United States may carry into any State whatever all that in his own State is considered as property. According to these principles the slaves brought by their masters into a free State are not freed by the touch of free soil. They are to remain merchandise that one can take about without losing its value. After this decision, Mr. Dallas, the United States Ambassador at London, refused to a woman of color a passport to France, under the pretext that he could consider only white women as citizens of the United States. In very many of the States the most iniquitous measures have been put in force against the free colored people. In order to make them emigrate, they were threatened with being reduced again to slavery if they remained in the State beyond a certain time. At Washington, in view of the approaching victory of the Republicans, treason was openly organized, the public treasure pillaged, the Northern arsenals plundered and their arms forwarded to the arsenals at the South. Never, under the most odious governments of Europe, have examples been seen of an immorality so revolting among the creatures and the agents of power, or a failure of duty so criminal in power itself. But these saturnalia of the democracy were soon to bear their fruits. In spite of the impending danger, this party had the imprudence to divide at the elections, and so leave an easy victory to the Republicans. These last adopted a programme which did not overpass the limitations of the first, framed four years agone. In developing this programme before the Senate, Mr. Seward, the chief speaker of the party, said, "The nation has to choose between the Republican and the Democratic party. It has, therefore, the right to know our principles. I know of but one that my party has adopted and avowed: it is, the preservation of the territory of the United States, by legal and constitutional means, from slavery and polygamy. When we consider what this nation is, of what races composed, and in what age of the world it appears on the theatre of history, what are its predominant institutions, its manners, its customs, can it be doubted that the Republican party will resolutely adopt this policy, and make it triumphant? As to the hostility to the South of which we are accused, this is what I have to say in reply: I have found among the Representatives of the Southern States a settled and serious spirit of resistance to the Republican party; I see a failure of that spirit of fraternity and loyalty which is the very cement of the Union. So that, in the present state of affairs, I am almost tempted to cry that we are rushing towards a dissolution, week after week, and month after month; that the bond is already broken, and that a stranger might suppose our President to be the President of two hostile republics. Let the Southern members blacken this picture as they will, only let them allow me to speak in the name of the Representatives of the North. I know them, both in their public and their private life. No; we are neither a hostile republic nor the Representatives of one. We debate among ourselves, but it is only as the organs of a party. Our political system often requires us to act as partisans, but it does not absolve us from being patriots and statesmen. Differences of opinion, even on the subject of slavery, are, for us, political differences only. They are not social or personal ones. There is not a Disunionist among us. We are aware of nothing that should impel us to disunion. We have never been more patient, and we have never entertained more kindly sentiments towards the Representatives of the political sections which differ from our own. We bear the same testimony respecting those who send us. The people of the North are not the enemies, but the friends and brothers of the South. They are faithful and sincere as in the days when they met death together on the battle-fields of liberty."

Were these the real sentiments of the North? Yes: for the most part the North asked for nothing but a limit to the extension of slavery. Attached to the South by mercantile interests, by historic memories, by a common history, it by no means desired a dissolution of the Union; and the Abolitionists alone repeated from 1835 their cry, which found no echo, "No union with slaveholders." For them alone the question of slavery took the proportions of a moral and religious question. With the Republican party, Mr. Seward avows it in all sincerity, it remained a purely political question. Shall I express my whole thought? If the North had believed the threats of dissolution which rang from the Democratic party to be serious, I doubt whether the majority of votes at the Presidential election would have been cast in favor of the Republican candidate. But no one suspected the whole extent of Southern ardor and audacity. What said Mr. Seward respecting the threats of the separatists? "I have uniformly said, here and elsewhere, that these impatient threats are too absurd to find a hand to carry them into execution. We form but one race, having one tongue, one faith, one freedom. We are engaged, it is true, in different occupations, but this very difference in our industry brings us more in contact with each other and with foreign nations. Let one of the joints of our Federal Constitution be broken, and the whole body politic would languish, and the divided part be sure to perish. Say as much as you will that our Constitution is only a contract, and that the violation of one of the clauses, by a State or by Congress, absolves the other States from their allegiance, and that the States may separate when they find sufficient cause of hostility. Try, then, to overthrow this Constitution. You will thereby discover that it is the law of a people, and that each member of the body politic is conscious of its strength, and knows that he is hopeless, powerless, helpless without it. On the banks of the St. Lawrence and the Rio Grande, on the shores of the Atlantic and the Pacific, on the Gulf of Mexico and in the straits of the Rocky Mountains, among the fishermen on the banks of Newfoundland, the manufacturers of Massachusetts, the merchants of New York, the miners of Pennsylvania and California, the farmers of Indiana, the planters of Mississippi, among the Indians of the prairie, the Mormons of the desert, the free Africans and the Africans in chains, even among the criminals of our prisons, repeat the story of your wrongs and their own, as eloquently and as pathetically as you will; then bid them rise, and they will say to you, 'Is that all? Are you more just than Washington, more wise than Hamilton, more humane than Jefferson?' By that simple interrogation you will be shamed and silenced."

We have seen how events have justified this confidence, have learned what degree of respect the South really have in the depths of their hearts for the work of Washington, Hamilton, and Jefferson. Hardly was the election of Mr. Lincoln certified, than the separation of the cotton States was decided. The succeeding events are too recent to need repetition. The *régime* of terror established at the South, the Federal property seized, a new Constitution and a new President proclaimed—such are the energetic response of the South to a regular election, peaceably accomplished with all the legal formalities. The central power has permitted all these violations of the Constitution, and its feebleness has aggravated from day to day a situation that seems now irremediable. In vain are projects of compromise heaped up at Washington. In vain does Mr. Seward himself, the Prime Minister of the new Cabinet, strive to efface all that gave importance to the Republican victory. The seceding States close their ears to every conciliatory proposition. They are to-day seven in number: South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Texas. In these States the Federal laws are no longer observed; in the ports the Federal taxes are no longer paid; and Fort Sumter alone, at the entrance of the harbor of Charleston, remains in the hands of an officer of the United States army, Major Anderson.

In such circumstances what is to be done? The border States, which separate the Secessionists from the North, hesitate to come to a decision, and watch to see to which side the balance will incline. The interest of slavery draws them to the South, the love the Union to the North. What will the Republican party do? Already it is divided in view of the grave events which have followed its victory. One fraction talks of struggling against the revolution; the other would recognize it and consent to the separation. The latter holds the following language: "Whether we desire it or not, reunion is equally out of our power. Compromise is no longer of any avail with the Secessionists, and though we may conquer, we can never wholly subjugate them. With our form of government it will not be easy for us to conquer and occupy provinces; and war will be of itself difficult against the South. The men of the South are brave and trained to arms. The North is, moreover, full of traitors; nearly half the people have, more or less, sympathies with the separatists. Under such circumstances, shall we have recourse to the fearful chances of an armed struggle to save the Union? Would it not be better to let the tie that binds us to the slave States be broken, to form a great free Republic, to raise the moral level among ourselves, and let the South sink to ruin under the weight of her own follies and divisions?"

Those who sustain the opposite opinion might reply, "We cannot, if we would, avoid war with the South. The new Confederacy will make demands upon us which we cannot grant. She wants New Mexico. We cannot yield it. She will exact the extradition of fugitive slaves; and what we yield with grief when the Constitution makes it a duty, shall we be willing to grant when we are nothing but neighbors? And if everything impels to war, is it not better to begin it at once, to let the irrepressible conflict declare itself, and to have on our side the vantage ground of the Constitution and loyalty to the Union?"

It is a fearful alternative. Appearances, however, seem to favor the opinion that if Mr. Jefferson Davis's republic maintains its existence as against the Union for a time, the Administration of Mr. Lincoln will avoid a conflict with it. Many a compromise will be attempted before resorting to so dreadful a civil war, but events have a logic that human passions and hesitations cannot arrest. Whatever may come to pass, it is safe to say that slavery has borne, at length, its fruit—it has divided the oppressors; and thus the final work of emancipation is prepared. The Union no longer exists. The North can no longer retain the frontier States that hesitate between the old and the new Confederation. It can recall the Separatists only by surrendering the Federal sword, and leaving rebellion mistress of the field—by abandoning its dignity and its rights to every outrage. Never again can there be question of the great Republic, but only of a coalition of States. A precedent has been established. A State has been seen to withdraw from the common association, carrying off whatever she could lay her hands on. Can there be such a thing as a government where there is no such thing as treason? The Confederation is nothing better than anarchy, from the time that each member of it may act its own good pleasure, and withdraw from all moral obligation. The Union, then, is dissolved—dissolved in fact, but, above all, morally dissolved. Its ghost may be made to reappear, but it will be a mere lifeless phantom. The horror and hatred of slavery will rapidly increase in the Northern States, and these sentiments will be so much the more bitter if the North submits to new humiliations, and finds herself obliged to sue for grace at the hands of those she has conquered. A temporary reconciliation would be the signal for renewed agitation. The great question of dissolution, then, can only be adjourned. A compromise might possibly give to Mr. Lincoln and his friends the peaceable enjoyment of power for four years; but it would not change one of the conditions which have brought about the present crisis. There is no reason to doubt that the Republican party would cheerfully lend itself to any conciliatory projects which should not compromise its dignity too seriously. What, in reality, does this party represent? The transition between slavery and abolition. If the separation between the North and the South becomes final, there will no longer be any reason for its existence; the Abolitionists will naturally replace it. As a fiery Democrat, the Hon. Sherrard Clemens, lately said in Congress, "The dissolution of the Union dethrones the Republican party, takes from it all its power, and makes Garrison, Phillips, and their confederates the masters of the North." To avoid such a result, the Republican statesmen would make more than one sacrifice; but these sacrifices will be unavailing, because there is as much resolution, decision, and firmness among the Seceders as among the Abolitionists themselves. Things will soon reach the point when they must surrender at discretion, either to the former or to the latter; and then, it is to be hoped, their natural instincts, their honor, their dignity, will impel them to side with truth and justice.

In view of the events in process of accomplishment on the other side of the Atlantic, shall we, like so many others, conclude that this experiment of American democracy has ended in a defeat? that the principles of the immortal Declaration of Independence have been proved powerless, and that this new ideal of liberty and equality reunited is a dream that man can never realize? So far, on the contrary, are the doctrines of Washington and his associates from having proved barren, or from having borne evil fruit, that they have presided at the formation of a state of society too strong to succumb to the accursed influences of the evil principle which the founders of the Union introduced into their work when they inscribed slavery by the side of liberty. That society has been found so free that a handful of courageous men, like the Abolitionists, have been able to assail slavery in front, and openly to brave public opinion; so intelligent and familiar with great social and political questions, that it was possible for them, in a few years, to change the currents of public opinion and the balance of political power: in fine, those principles have so wrought that a revolution like the one we see could take place without effusion of blood, without the necessity of civil war, without interrupting business, without exciting more serious anxiety than an ordinary polititical crisis, without any check in the independent development of the several States, cities, and communes. If civil war should come later, to imbrue in blood the vast territories that an active and brave democracy has cleared and settled in so few years, it will not be the fault of those principles which men are so ready to consider as the cause of the present state of things. Human passions remain the same, under whatever institutions; and it is much that the peculiar organization of the United States does not render necessary a recourse to force and violence.

As to the rest, it is only when these immortal principles of the Declaration of Independence shall have regained their purity, when the necessity of reconciling them with slavery shall have ceased to subjugate every soul to a perpetual sophism, and to confound the simplest notions of right and wrong, that all their excellence and fertility will be known. Then, from New England to California, liberty will find a domain which will always be wide enough for a humane, religious, laborious, virtuous people, and which will never be too narrow, though obliged to withdraw its boundaries from the latitudes claimed by slavery.

AUGUSTE LAUGEL.

LETTERS FROM ALGIERS.

Communicated for THE STANDARD.

I.

ALGIERS, March, 1861.

I CAME home full gallop, last night, across this great plain of the Metidja, with Mr. Cobden's daughter and two others. We rode as hard as we could, for we left under a tree near the mountains one of our party, with his leg broken. I will tell you how we came to be over there amongst the Arabs of the Atlas. The chief of twelve tribes of Arba gave a great boar hunt in honor of Mr. Cobden; and we, his friends, and many others were invited, and on Sunday some rode and more drove over, until the little village was crammed, and, as Mr. Cobden and I said, was like nothing but an American village before a camp-meeting. Yesterday we all went up into the mountains, and there were tents and divans all arranged on the brow of a hill looking over the plain into which the boars were to be driven down by the Arabs from the gorges of the mountains. I rode about in different directions and heard the Arabs howling and yelling and beating the bushes of dwarf palm to rouse up the wild boars. The Arabs call the boar "Jew," "Son of a Jew," and, when the Christians are not listening, "Son of a Christian," and all the worst names their imaginations are capable of. Mr. Cobden was presented to the grand chief, and that really was a sight to see; and they talked together by the help of an interpreter, and complimented one another. The tent for Mr. and Mrs. Cobden was very beautiful, decorated with colored cloth and Turkey carpets, and, on the outside, silver crescents at the end of the poles. We sat on divans and cushions and chairs, gave our horses to the Arabs to guard, and looked out on the great plain bounded on the north by the Sahel range of hills where we all lived, and the sea, and on the west by the Cherchel (Julia Cesarea) country, and there we could see the pyramid of the tomb of the "Christian Queen" against the sky. Close to our left rose the mountains of Blidah, covered still with patches of snow, sloping down to the plain in inexpressibly graceful lines. As to the boar hunt, I can't say much; I did not care for that, and it was not pleasant to see the large black hog, covered with blood, lying at our feet to be admired! There really was no hunting at all; that is, the dogs were never let loose, and the two or three boars (some say ten) which were killed, were shot without any run. A French gentleman asked who were all the ladies and children, some thirty or thereabouts, etc., in the great tent. An Englishman said, "Mr. Cobden and his family." "*Ah, oui*," the Frenchman rejoined, politely, "*j'ai entendre dire que les Anglais out de grandes familles*"!

The Arabs' cooking was a subject of great interest to us. There, close to us, it was all going on, out of doors. A whole goat, a whole sheep, and six or seven great earthern pans with kouskousau and all sorts of stray dishes, some with meat and honey and almonds all together, and other mixtures equally strange. The Chief or Aga sat at the side of the tent, and ordered all the proceedings, when we began to feed on these dainties; and I assure you some of the things were very nice, particularly the sweetmeats. Altogether, it was a most glorious day, and we should have enjoyed ourselves almost as much as it was possible, if it had not been for the thought of absent friends who were disappointed at not being able to join our party. One little episode I shall never forget; that was, a little private party of French colonists who were enjoying themselves under a great carouba tree, singing in parts over their wine and desert. We came upon them suddenly on our horses, and took shelter from the hot sun under the same tree, and soon made acquaintance with them; and, with real French ease and grace, they offered us a share of their good things, and sang to us, and we drank their health in their lemonade *gazeuse*. It was curious to see how feelingly they sang of their own France, as if they had not given up their old country for the new one, but meant to go back again. Algeria is too near France, perhaps, to make her colonists really feel they have taken her "for better or worse from this time forward," etc. You see I go backwards—the analytical, not the synthetical method of composition. Our ride out to Arba on Sunday (10th) night was really delicious; we scampered over the graves and leapt the ditches in the "maddest, merriest" way; only every now and then Mr. Smith, who is not strong, lost all control over his horse, and I was obliged to beg him to keep behind us a long way so as not to get his horse excited by ours. We were meeting for our start on the "Field of Mars" at Algiers, when up comes a handsome young gentleman, who had evidently the intention of joining our party, and when Mr. Smith said, "Mr. Squire, Madame Bodichon," I recognized the *medium* of whom I had spoken my mind very freely here. "Mr. Squire," said I, "I saw you at New Orleans." "Yes, madam," said he, "and you think I am a cheat," or words to that effect. "Yes, I do," said I, as bold as brass, and burst out laughing. What could I say? for it was true! He met here a reputation he certainly did not expect, and I was the cause! Well, he devoted himself to me nevertheless, and was really very kind and polite, and at the inn, where all the beds were taken, he, like a true American (though he is an impostor), would have given up his room to me, and came out quite to advantage contrasted with the silly selfishness of certain gentlemen from Great Britain. Poor Mr. Smith was brought home by the good Miss Jones and the medium, who stayed with him, and I sent off, by Dr. B.'s advice, for the bone-setting surgeon, and we hope, poor man, though his leg is broken by this gallop home, that all will go well with him.

II.

ALGIERS, March 23, 1861.

After months of uninterrupted fine weather, an unclouded sun, and the thermometer often out of doors up to 70 deg. in the shade, rarely below 50 deg., we have at last a wet day, a regular tumble down of the heavens it seems, pelting cataracts of water, and sharp flashes of lightning, and roaring and rattling thunder, and a wind which bows the cypress down into the attitude of Moors at prayer. Such a day makes one a prisoner almost by force, though you know I do sometimes delight in a wild walk on such days as these, and this very day, in spite of all, out goes the dog, followed by the *docteur* for a long walk to take some good news of paying employment to the eccentric Englishman who has lost so much, poor old man, in Miere's great failure. Such a rain would keep all visitors away, at all events, thought I, and I shall give myself to distant friends entirely, to English and American friends, and I will write to dear T. and good old B., and the little G., and the artist S. C., and the doctor E. B., and the writer S. G., and preacher K. H., and my adopted niece, and my adopted brother, and my transatlantic uncle, and my transmediterranean aunt, and my editor, and my schoolmistress, and my female lawyer, and my female devil, etc., etc., and no Algereens shall pirate my affections or my time this rare, this blessed rainy day.

But human affairs are not disposed of by us, and not rainy Saturday afternoons even by me as I proposed; and in spite of wind and rain comes dear Madame Luce all this way to see me, and of course (*mille diables!*) I am charmed to see her, for she is a woman I consider *great*—a good woman, and taken altogether she is *great*; and Bessie Parkes, in the forthcoming life of her in *The Englishwoman's Journal*, has not done her more than justice. I am glad to see her, as soon as she begins to talk, for she tells me about the Arab school and about her troubles and triumphs in French, which is like Demosthenes' orations, I am quite certain, though I never read them.

She told me about the death of poor Nafirsa, her Arab teacher, who was an admirable young woman, clever, good, and very agreeable and gentle in her manners. I liked her very much indeed, and knew her very well. She has been ill of consumption for more than a year, and Madame Luce's care of her has been very constant and devoted. Nafirsa was a Mahometan, and never in her illness, though she was surrounded by Catholics and has lived more among them for years than among her people, *never* once did she wish to see a *Catholic priest*, but was constant in her own faith to the last. This is a striking example of what I have often remarked here—the obstinate adherence of this people to its religion. They do not take anything from the Christians but the merest outside customs, very often the worst customs, and the union is altogether of the slightest kind. I never should be astonished to see the same turn of affairs as in India—only that the French army would not let it go so far.

III.

You ask me, in one of your letters, what I think about the vexed Woman question—whether I think, if all laws were made equal and all professions open, women, by nature, are equal to other than the work they are doing—whether I think men and women equal in intellect? I will answer you as well as I can in a few words, but a few words are and must be insufficient to gain my full meaning.

About equality of intellect, I think men and women are in their minds essentially different, about as different as they are in their bodies; and as to superiority or inferiority, I think it entirely a matter of taste!

From my observations on women, in the three quarters of the world I have visited, and taking in Protestants, Catholics, Mahommedans, etc., I think the most striking characteristic of women everywhere is their extraordinary capacity to govern, to manage, to control, command. And if you ask me what I think women would do well, if there were no laws and customs to prevent them, I say unhesitatingly they would be rulers—rulers of kingdoms, mayors of towns, governors of prisons, hospitals and families. I see mothers, as a rule, doing the government of the house and family better than fathers; in fact, a house is hardly a household unless a woman is at the head. I see women, wherever they have a chance, administering admirably well, and I believe their intellect is of just that wonderful complexity of quality which fits them for the government of families, whether large or small, whether of ten or thousands. In a perfectly free state, I think we might see some women lawyers, some soldiers, some mathematicians, but not many. And believing firmly in the difference of men's and women's minds, I do not believe, even if they followed the same professions, they would do it in the same way or accomplish the same results. Medicine, I think, is very much woman's concern, but I doubt if women M.D.s will be like male M.D.s. We must not be alarmed when we see women professors going off the track of men; probably it will lead to good results—and it is certain we never can see results exactly. The combinations of human efforts are more like chemical combinations than physical ones, and often produce new and unexpected results.

We do not, in England, discuss these questions at all. The English mind, on this question, turns to the philanthropic side; or rather it is time to say many hearts are working to help women, but not many heads. John Stuart Mill is the only man, I think, in England, of any standing, who never goes out of his way to avoid the abuse which is heaped on Women's Rights in our country. He reprinted and indorsed nobly in his recent publication of his "Reviews and Dissertations," Mrs. Mill's famous and able article in *The Westminster Review*.

In England, women are becoming better educated generally, and more interested in all public events which concern the young and the suffering population, than they ever were. They have also gained access to many educational institutions, such as Schools of Art; it was a fine thing for us when Laura Herford was accepted as a student in the Royal Academy. We have our journal, which, though it does not yet succeed as a commercial undertaking, yet has a recognized moral value, and touches about 1000 persons; not a bad beginning it is though by capable judges. We have also in England a right of speech at the Social Science Congress every year, which is very valuable. And, of course, you have heard of the Victoria Printing Office and the Law Copying Class, both in good health and doing well, but not either yet able to go quite alone. The Reading Room also is in the same state, really a valuable and prosperous affair, but owes its existence to a generous lady, and does not pay as a commercial undertaking, by any means.

You ask me about Miss Parkes, the editor of *The Englishwoman's Journal*, and the great leader of all our movements. I am happy to say that the four months' rest she has been taking with us here on our healthy hill-side, far away from all the cares and gnawing anxieties of her London life, has done her worlds of good; she came with us here on the 1st of November, and left us only at the beginning of this month.

She came really seriously ill from exhaustion; both body and mind were worn out, and I am sure she would not have worked another year without sinking under the strain. Here she soon recovered her spirits, and if you had seen her in December, lying in the sun in our garden, surrounded by flowers, looking at the blue Mediterranean and the range of Atlas Mountains across the bay, or working to uproot the luxuriant weeds from among my roses and geraniums, you would not have guessed she had any cares on her mind or aches in body.

Much the same magical effect our lovely climate seems to have had upon that great benefactor to us all, Richard Cobden. He also came with brain overworked and body tired out, and now is wonderfully well. It is a curious coincidence that he is in the same house inhabited by John Bright, when we were here in 1857. This place is becoming a great resort of English, Americans, Russians, and all northern nations.

There is no doubt that the climate has a very beneficial effect in cases of diseased lungs, and Dr. Bodichon says it is positively curative in many cases, if the patients will persist in a rational course of life and have patience to return winter after winter. For some cases, *far advanced*, it is dangerous; it is a powerful stimulus, and, of course, has its evil as well as its good effects. There are many of my American friends whom I should much like to see here—all who love painting, and can appreciate a gracious and lovely country, and a heavenly climate, which admits of out-door sketching to an extent unknown in any part of Italy or Spain.

The society here is gay, for those who like gayety, and the Duke of Malakoff's court is quite easily accessible to visitors, and young ladies can have as many officers as they like to dance with. For the grave there is a learned society. Antiquarians and philosophers and art are not so very badly represented here. The English mix much with the French, and there is a most cordial and pleasant feeling between the two people this winter, much owing, I think, to Mr. Cobden's good influence and example.

Yours, with kind greetings and much affection to all my dear American friends,

B. L. S. B.

A CONNUBIAL SPYING BUREAU.

IN Paris, where all life is reduced to a system, there is a "Vidocq of the Jealous," as he is called, who keeps a bureau for the benefit of jealous husbands, wives and lovers. This story of the experience of one of its patrons will show the nature of the establishment, as well as some other things:

Not long ago, a certain Parisian Othello, of an uncommonly doting species, all at once tormented himself with a notion that Mrs. Othello held clandestine meetings with Captain Cassio, of the Grenadiers, who was her own cousin to boot. Off posted Mr. O. to the chief of the conjugal spy establishment, and employed an expert "shadow" to keep an eye on Mrs. O.'s promenades. The surveillance lasted a week. It might have gone on for a longer period, but the spy rendered so good an account of the lady he was employed to watch, that, at the end of eight days, her worthy husband began to suspect that he had made an ass of himself and was spending twenty francs a day for nothing. He consequently informed Vidocq that he was quite satisfied, and called for his bill. A bit of paper was forthwith presented to him, upon which his indebtedness was set down at 400 francs.

"Four hundred francs!" exclaimed the good man. "There is a mistake in this! Our engagement has extended over a period of eight days only, and at twenty francs a day the amount is 160 francs."

"Very true, sir," replied the other, "but I thought I could venture to include Madame's bill in yours."

"What! You don't mean to say my wife owes you anything?"

"Yes, sir; twelve days following and watching, at twenty francs, 240 francs, which added to your 160, makes the 400."

The excellent husband was not displeased at this. Oh, far from it. So, his wife had set a watch over him! It became perfectly evident that she must be jealous of him, and women are not jealous of the men they do not love. He joyfully paid the money, took a receipt, and was about leaving the "office," when struck with a sudden idea, he turned to Vidocq and asked:

"When was it my wife employed one of your men to follow me?"

"You, sir? She never engaged us to follow you!"

"Then what the d—l is the meaning of these 240 francs, eh?"

"Why, sir, some days before you came to us, to have Madame watched, Madame employed us to look after Cassio, of the Grenadiers. And, I'm sorry to say, sir, the reports we have made to Madame have not been so satisfactory as was desirable. The Captain is a hard case, sir, a very hard case; and he has been going on with Mademoiselle Clementine, of the opera, in a manner most shocking to our feelings as conjugal agents."

Of course Othello left, more or less pulverized by this "professional" revelation.

THE OLD COUPLE.

It stands in a sunny meadow,
The house so mossy and brown,
With its cumbrous old stone chimneys,
And the gray roof sloping down.

The trees fold their green arms around it,
The trees, a century old;
And the winds go chanting through them,
And the sunbeams drop their gold.

The cowslips spring in the marshes,
And the roses bloom on the hill;
And beside the brook in the pastures
The herds go feeding at will.

The children have gone and left them,
They sit in the sun alone!
And the old wife's ears are failing,
As she harks to the well known tone

That won her heart in her girlhood,
That has soothed her in many a care,
And praises her now for the brightness
Her old face used to wear.

She thinks again of her bridal—
How, dressed in her robe of white,
She stood by her gay young lover
In the morning's rosy light.

Oh, the morning is rosy as ever,
But the rose from her cheek is fled;
And the sunshine still is golden,
But it falls on a silvered head.

And the girlhood dreams, once vanished,
Come back in her winter time,
Till her feeble pulses tremble
With the thrill of spring-time's prime.

And looking forth from the window,
She thinks how the trees have grown,
Since, clad in her bridal whiteness,
She crossed the old door stone.

Though dimmed her eye's bright azure,
And dimmed her hair's young gold;
The love in her girlhood plighted
Has never grown dim nor old.

They sat in peace in the sunshine,
Till the day was almost done;
And then, at its close, an angel
Stole over the threshold stone.

He folded their hands together—
He touched their eyelids with balm;
And their last breath floated upward,
Like the close of a solemn psalm.

Like a bridal pair they traversed
The unseen, mystical road,
That leads to the beautiful city,
"Whose builder and maker is God."

Perhaps in that miracle country
They will give her lost youth back;
And the flowers of a vanished spring-time,
Will bloom in the spirit's track.

One draught from the living waters
Shall call back his manhood's prime;
And eternal years shall measure
The love that outlived time.

But the shapes that they left behind them,
The wrinkles and silver hair,
Made holy to us by the kisses
The angel had printed there,

We will hide away 'neath the willows,
When the day is low in the west;
Where the sunbeams cannot find them,
Nor the winds disturb their rest.

And we'll suffer no tell-tale tombstone,
With its age and date, to rise
O'er the two who are old no longer,
In the Father's House in the skies.

THE REV. W. H. CHANNING.—We have much pleasure in informing our readers that the Rev. W. H. Channing has accepted a unanimous and most cordial invitation to become the minister of the Effra Road Chapel, Brixton. We look forward with great satisfaction to having Mr. Channing as an advocate in the metropolis of the broad and catholic form of Christianity with which his name is identified. He will, we are confident, receive a large measure of support, not only from Unitarians, but from many liberal thinkers who have hitherto kept aloof from our special denominational action. Mr. Channing, we are informed, intends shortly to pay a visit to his native country, partly (to use his own words) "to edit a new volume of the Rev. Dr. Channing's works," and partly to prove his "loyal love for the Republic of the United States, and unfaltering confidence that the will of the sovereign people of the nation, acting through the national government, will speedily triumph over treason, and reëstablish the constitutional Union more firmly than ever." Mr. Channing is expected to enter upon his duties at Brixton in the course of October next, and although we can no longer share in his ardent expectations for the unity of his native land, nor even regard it as an object to be greatly desired, we can confidently assure him that, as the representative of the free spirit of the regenerated North, and still more for his own sake, he will receive a most hearty welcome to the London ministry.—*London Christian Inquirer.*

GIVE AS YOU WOULD TAKE.

My bairnies dear, when you go out
With other bairns to play,
Take heed of everything you do,
Of every word you say;
From tricky, wee, mischievous loons,
Keep back, my bairns, keep back;
And aye to all such usage give
As you would like to take.

To twist the mouth and call ill names
Is surely very bad;
Then all such doings still avoid—
They'd make your mother sad.
To shield the weakly from the strong,
Be neither slow nor slack,
And aye to all such usage give
As you would like to take.

A kindly word, a soothing look,
Have ready aye for all;
We are one Maker's handiwork—
He made us, great and small.
We're all the children of His care;
Oh, then, for His dear sake,
Be sure such usage then to give
As you would like to take.

—*Nursery Songs of Scotland.*

REV. ROWLAND HILL AND AN ASS.—It was Mr. Hill's habit to ride to church in an old family carriage, a practice too aristocratic, in the judgment of one of his flock, who determined to rebuke it. It was customary in his chapel for notes to be sent to the pulpit, requesting prayers for various objects; and one Sabbath Mr. Hill was proceeding with the reading of these requests as usual, when he found himself in the midst of one to the following purport: "Prayers are requested for Rev. Mr. Hill, that he may be more humble and like his Divine Master, who, instead of riding in a carriage, was content to be borne on an ass." Having read the notice, he lifted his spectacles to his forehead, and looking around the house, observed that it was quite true he had been guilty of the fault alleged; but if the writer would step around to the vestry door after service, saddled and bridled, he would have no objection to ride home, after his Master's example, on the back of an ass.

THE ABORIGINES.—The annual meeting of the Aborigines' Protection Society was held on Wednesday night, under the Presidency of Mr. S. Gurney, M.P. The principal subject brought before the meeting was the New Zealand war, which the Committee attributed to the unjust conduct of the Governor in setting aside the tribal authority over land, as well as in ignoring the claims of many individual owners. Upon this question Mr. G. Thompson delivered an eloquent speech, in the course of which he showed that the tribal right contended for by the natives of New Zealand was identical with the system of land tenure existing in the villages of India. Mr. Fowler condemned strongly the oppressions of the indigo planters; and other speakers called attention to the wrongs of the aborigines in Australia, the South Seas, and other parts of the world.—*London Christian Inquirer, May* 25.

A BALLET, having "Uncle Tom's Cabin" for a basis, is an attraction in Genoa. Uncle Tom is reading his Bible, when a scene opens, representing a vision of heaven, and a song is given with an accompaniment on a harp (of a thousand strings), and the *prima donna* who sings it comes forward in a white cotton wrapper. The ballet ends with a grand ball, where the white females have for partners "a raft" of curly-headed negroes, in white cravats and waistcoats, and "going it" in real "Virginny" style. This is the Italian idea of emancipation, progress, and paradiso.

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